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Purusottamadeva's Commentary on the Mahābhāsya

About 20 years ago we published a rare reference to a long-lost commentary on the *Mahābhāsya* by Purusottamadeva, the celebrated grammarian of the Bengal school of Pāṇini.[1] The work remains yet to be discovered, but we are able now to publish one or two fragments from it. It appears that a small literature grew up round this work of Puruṣottama and we give below an account of the few interesting works that have so far been discovered, though only in fragments.

(1) A commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* has written by one Śaṅkara A single page of this work, and fortunately the first page, was recently discovered by us in a private library at Navadvīpa.[2] The whole of it is published below

ओँ नमो महादेवाय ॥ ओँ नमः परदेवतायै ॥ ० ॥ अथ महाभाष्यं लिख्यते ॥

यस्त्यक्त्वा रूपमाद्यं प्रभवति जगतोऽनेकधानुग्रहाय
प्रक्षीणाक्लेशराशिर्व्विषमविषधरोऽनेकवक्त्रः सुभोगी ।
सर्व्वज्ञानप्रसूतिर्भुजगपरिकरः प्रीतये यस्य नित्यं
देवोऽहीशः स वोऽव्यात् सितविमलतनुर्योगदो योगयुक्तः ॥[3]
फणिभाष्येऽत्र दुर्गत्वं कज्जटेन प्रकाशितं ।
श्रुतपालस्य राद्धान्तः कुण्डली(?ल्यां) कुण्डलायते ॥

1 Pāninian Studies in Bengal *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee*, vol III (Orientalia), Pt. I, p 204.

2 Collection of Sanskrit Mss belonging to the late Pandit Tārāprasanna Cūdāmani. There are several rare works in this collection

3 This beautiful benedictory stanza is found in some Mss of the *Yogabhāsya* and even commented on by Vijñānabhiksu It cannot certainly belong to the *Bhāsya* and is, moreover, omitted by Vācaspati Miśra. On the strength of the present work Śaṅkara becomes the real author of this verse, which bears the stamp of a consummate scholar of the early medieval age.

तिकमेतत् समाख्यानं माहेश्वरनियोजनं ।
शङ्करस्तु बुदुर्बुद्धिः सागरं तर्त्तुमिच्छति ॥

तथापि, सहस्रसमुत्कीर्णभाष्यमणी वास्यच्छेयजरन्मृणालतन्तुगतागतसहोदरोस्तु शङ्करस्य बुद्धिवानि(?णि)ज्यमिति ॥

समा(ख्यात)श्च पुरुषोत्तमदेवः परिसमाप्तसकलक्रियाकलापः कुण्डलीव्याख्याने बद्धपरिकरः प्रतिजानीते ॥

कुण्डलीसमके येऽर्था दुर्बोध्या फणिभाषिताः ।
ते सर्व्वे प्रतिपाद्यन्ते साधुशब्देन भाषया ।
यदि दुष्प्रयोगशाली स्यां फणिभक्ष्यो भवाम्यहं ॥

अथ भाष्यवृत्तिं व्याचिख्यासुर्देवो विघ्ननाशाय सदाचारपरिप्राप्तम् इष्टदेवतानतिस्वरूपं मङ्गलमाचचार । तत्पद्यं यथा ॥

नमो बुधाय बुद्धाय यथात्रिमुनिलक्षणं ।
विधीयते प्राणपणा भाषायां लघुवृत्तिका ॥ इति देव...

Śankara apparently based his work on three previous scholiasts on the *Mahābhāṣya* viz Kajjata, Śrutapāla and Purusottamadeva The famous author of the *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa*, it should be noted, is regularly and consistently referred to in all Bengal works as Kajjaṭa and not Kaiyaṭa. Śrutapāla preceded Purusottama, who cited him both in the *Bhāsāvrtti* (p. 543) and the *Lalitaparibhāṣā*,[4] he is hardly known elsewhere in India. In the above extract two introductory verses of Puruṣottama's commentary have been preserved It was curiously called prānapanā (life-staking), as the author consciously exposed himself to an attack from the lord of snakes, the traditional compiler of the *Mahābhāsya*, in case of misinterpretation!! One of the verses is a clear adaptation of the introductory verse of the *Bhāsāvrtti*

(2) Śaṅkara was himself an ancient author, as his work was commented on by one Manikaṇtha, who described him as an incarnation of Mahādeva Two folia of this work were discovered by us long ago in the Mss collection of the V R Museum at Rajshahi. These are now published with advantage along with the original text

4 "कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये" (Pān. VI. 4. 172) इत्यत्र श्रुतपालेन ज्ञापितो ह्ययमर्थः । (V. R. S. Ms No 630, fol 32ᵃ.). निर्देशो "अङ्गवृत्ते रि"ति हेतुपञ्चम्यन्तं श्रुतपालेन व्याहृतात् (ib. fol 35ᵃ) Śrutapāla is also cited in the कातन्त्रवृत्तिटीका of दुर्गसिंह (कृत ; 68), and in the अमोघवृत्ति of अभिनव-शाकटायन under IV. 1. 252-3.

ओँ नमो गणेशाय ॥

वेदवेदान्तमीमांसान्यायपातञ्जलाङ्गवित
सांख्यवैशेषिकज्ञाता धर्म्मशास्त्रार्थतत्त्ववित् ।
इति बालिशवृद्धैश्च भाष्यसिन्धोस्तरण्डकं ।
तनोमि मणिकण्ठोहं नुतो($^{\times}$)नुदितो गुणैः ॥
शेषं प्रणम्य धवलं शिवं वृद्धं सनातनं ।
कड्ढते मणिकण्ठश्च शितिकण्ठप्रसादतः ॥

इहखलु संसारे अल्पायुरल्पभाग्याऽविद्याजडीकृतसकलकरणालसतया निर्वर्त्तितवेदाभ्यास-यागादिधर्म्मानवलोक्य श्रीदेवव्याख्यातप्राणपणितभाष्यग्रन्थस्य दुर्बोधस्य सुप्रकाशाय श्रीमहादेवः शङ्करनामकब्राह्मणरूपेणावलोक्य तत्तद्व्याचिख्यासुः सुहृद्भिस्तुकादिपालकं स्वदेशीयं राजानमाशास्ते देवगुणकथनेन च मङ्गलमाचरति—यस्त्यक्त्वेत्यादि । यः स इत्यनेन अभेदार्थ-निरूपणेन सच्चित्वमसीतिवत् सगुणनिर्गुणमात्मभेदं व्याचष्टे । यः स यस्य अव्याद् इत्यादिना च परोक्षापरोक्षसम्बन्धक्रियाकर्म्मादि सकलमेव । भाष्यकर्त्ता शिवावतारस्तद्भाषितत्वे फणि-भाष्यमिति ।

निरुक्तिश्च, प्रतिभानं भवेद्यस्मात् स्यति पापसमुच्चयं ।
फणिना भाषितन्त्वेवं फणिभाष्यं निगद्यत इति ।

श्लोकार्थश्च, सोऽहीशोनन्तो वो युष्मानव्यात् रक्षतु । स कः, य आद्यं रूपं ब्रह्म चतुर्भुजं वा त्यक्त्वा प्रभवति प्रभुरिवाचरति । किमर्थं, जगतोऽनेकधानुग्रहाय पृथ्वीधारणात् । स किम्भूतः, प्रक्षीणक्लेशराशिरिति प्रकर्षेण क्षीणा नष्टाः क्लेशराशयो यस्य स तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, विषमविषधर इति विषममुपायासाध्यं विषं धरति तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, अनेक-वक्त्र इति अनेकानि वक्त्राणि मुखानि यस्य, स तथा । 'मूर्द्धन्यर्पितमणुवत् सहस्रमूर्द्धा भूगोलं सगिरिसरित्समुद्रमिति वाक्यैकवाक्यतया सहस्रमुखः प्राप्तः । यद्वा, 'सर्व्वतः पाणिपादान्तः सर्व्वतोक्षिशिरोमुखम्' इत्यभिप्रायेण । पुनः किम्भूतः, सुभोगः शोभनो भोगः फणा यस्य तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः सर्व्वज्ञानप्रसूतिः । सर्व्वेषां ज्ञानानां प्रसूतिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्मात् स तथा । यस्य च प्रीतये प्रीतिनिमित्तं भुजगानां परिकरः परिवारः सर्व्वदास्तीत्यध्याहारः । पुनः किम्भूतः सितविमलत(2^a)नुरिति सिताश्च च विमला निर्म्मला तनुर्यस्य स तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगदः योगश्चित्तवृत्तिनिरोधस्तं ददातीति तथा । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगयुक्तः योगेन युक्तस्तथा । आत्मारम्भेण पररञ्जनं भवेदिति लोकसिद्धेः । अथवा, स सितविमलतनुर्देवो महादेवः वो युष्मानव्यादित्यन्वयः । स कः, यस्य शिवस्य प्रीतये सोऽहीशोऽनन्तो नित्यमस्ति । सोऽहीशः कः, यस्त्यक्त्वेत्यादि सर्व्वं योजनीयं । महादेवः किम्भूतः योगदः । पुनः किम्भूतः, योगयुक्तः अयं योगी । यद्यत्शीर्षण्याचरितं तत्तदेवानुवर्त्तते लोक इति नयात् ।

दुर्गत्वे सति शिष्टकृतवर्त्मनि प्रवर्त्तनं निःशङ्कमिति प्रतिपादयितुमाह फणिभाष्येत्र दुर्गत्वमित्यादि । कुण्डल्यामेव कुण्डलायते भूषणायते नान्यत्रेति तात्पर्यं । एतदुक्तं भवति —अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सम्यक् तात्पर्यं केनापि न प्रतिपन्नं किन्तु केनचित् किञ्चिदित्येवं ममापि निर्दोष उद्यमः । दुर्गत्वमिति दुर्ज्ञेयत्वमित्यर्थः । दुःखेन गम्यते ज्ञायतेऽदः इति कर्मणि

डप्रत्ययः। ननु अत्र भावप्रत्ययेन साध्यसाधनसम्बन्ध उक्तस्तथा च कज्जटेन तत्सम्बन्धकथने किं साहाय्यमिति चेन्न, दुर्ग यत् प्रमेयं तदेव दुर्गत्वं स्वार्थे त्वप्रत्ययोऽत्र। तस्य भावस्त्वतलावित्यत्र स्वार्थोपि भाव आश्रीयते। ननु भावः सत्ता महाविषया सैव परं सामान्यमनुवृत्तिहेतुत्वात्, तद्व्याप्यमपरं सामान्यं तच्च गोत्वादि व्यावृत्तिहेतुत्वात् तत अपरं सामान्यमित्युच्यते। तत्र च सत्ता व्यापकजातिस्तद्वाच्ये त्वतलौ विहिताविति चेन्न, तथात्वे गवि गोत्वमित्युक्ते घटादिसत्ताप्रतीतिः स्यात् सत्ताया एकरूपत्वात्। ननु तदा प्रकृतिप्रत्यासत्तिगतानुगतिकत्वं प्रत्ययानां यथा, पक्तेति तृचा पचनकर्तृत्वबोधः न तु क्रियान्तरकर्तृत्वबोधः इति चेन्न; तत्रानेकत्वसद्भावात्। ननु तदा सत्तायामपि अनेकत्वं सम्बन्धिभेदात् यथा,

सम्बन्धिभेदात् सत्तैव भिद्यमाना गवादिषु।
जातिरित्युच्यते सोऽर्थो जातिशब्दे पृथक् पृथक्॥

इत्यादि कारकविवेके लिखनात्[5] इति चेद्गाढं, किन्तु तथात्वे गवयसत्ताप्रतीतिरबाधिता स्यात् गवयसत्ता हि प्रकृतिप्रत्यासन्ना सादृश्यात्। तस्मात्, भवतोऽस्मादभिधानप्रत्ययाविति भाव इति भार्ग्याचार्यलक्षणं शरणं। अस्यार्थः, यस्मात् पदार्थाद्धेतोर्घटादिषु विशेष्येषु घटादिशब्दा अभिधीयन्ते वक्तृभिः श्रोतृभिश्च घटाद्याकारानुगतज्ञानमबाधितं प्राप्यते स पदार्थो भावः। स च स्वार्थद्रव्यलिङ्गसंख्याकर्माद्यात्मकः पञ्चकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः इत्यस्यादिभूतः स्वार्थ इत्युच्यते। स्वार्थ इति विशेषणस्य नामान्तरं, द्रव्यमिति विशेष्यस्य नामान्तरं, तेन विशेष्ये कम्बुग्रीवादिमदादौ घटादिशब्दानां या प्रवृत्तिः प्रवर्त्तनं तस्या निमित्तं यत् स भाव इत्यर्थः। ननु तदा गङ्गाघोषादौ गङ्गात्वं तीरस्य, प्रतीतेरनिमित्तत्वात्तद्व्याहतं। मा, अत्र गङ्गेव तीरप्रतीतौ गङ्गापदस्य प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं न तु गङ्गात्वं व्यवहितत्वात्। तथा चोक्तं,

लक्ष्ये व्यङ्ग्ये तथा वाच्ये यत्तु स्यात् परिचायकं।
भेदकं तद्विजानीयात् प्रवृत्तेः कारणं स्मृतं॥

तेन जातिशब्दे जातिः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं घटत्वादि। द्रव्यसमानाधिकरणगुणे शुक्लत्वं शुक्लो गुणः वैयधिकरण्ये तु शुक्लत्वं जातिरेव। कुन्तविशिष्टपुरुषे यदा लक्षणया कुन्तशब्दस्तदा कुन्तत्वं द्रव्यमेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं, अन्यथा कुन्तत्वं जातिरेव। पाकः पचनमित्यत्र क्रिया प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं। समासकृत्तद्धितेषु सम्बन्धः प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं। यथा, राजपुरुषत्वं राज्ञा सह पुरुषस्य स्वस्वामिकसम्बन्धः। पाचकत्वमिति पचिक्रियया तत्कर्तुः साध्यसाधनभावसम्बन्धः। गार्ग्यत्वमिति गर्गेण सह अपत्यापत्यसद्भावसम्बन्धः पौत्रस्य। तथा चोक्तं, "समासकृत्तद्धितेषु सम्बन्धाभिधानमन्यत्र रूढ्यभिन्नरूपाव्यभिचरितसम्बन्धेभ्य" इति। रूढौ कुम्भकारतन्तुवायप्रभृतीनां जातिरेव प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं अभिन्नरूपे पीलुर्वृक्षः पीलु फलं। अनयोर्वृक्षत्वफलत्वे......

(Preserved with V R S Ms No 649)

This is a fine specimen of the dialectic style of a medieval scholar, which is highly discursive, yet free from the phraseology of the *Navya-nyāya*

5 This seems to be a different work from Purusottamadeva's *Kārakacakra*, where the last line of the *kārika* reads as, जातिरित्युच्यते तस्यां सर्वे शब्दाः व्यवस्थिताः। (fol. 1).

school of Navadvīpa. Maṇikaṇṭha was a pure grammarian and must be different from the logician Maṇikaṇṭha Miśra, who belonged to Mithilā and preceded Gaṅgeśa. He may or may not be identical with Maṇikaṇṭha Bhaṭṭācārya, son of Gaṇeśa, a small tract of whom named Kārakakhaṇḍanamandana exists in Ms.[6] Even in the small fragment printed above Maṇikaṇṭha has preserved for us the name of an ancient scholar *Bhārgyācāryya,* whose definition of the grammatical term 'bhāva' has been cited and explained by him. Maṇikaṇṭha definitely states that Śaṅkara wanted to publish and elucidate the difficult work *Mahābhāṣya* as *explained by Purusottamadeva at the risk of his life* It should be noted that both Śaṅkara and Maṇikaṇṭha refers to Puruṣottama as 'Deva' or 'Śrīdeva,' implying that 'Deva' was probably the family title of the great author.

(3) A fairly large book (fol. 95 *plus* 7) called भाष्यव्याख्याप्रपञ्च is lying for a long time in the V. R Museum at Rajshahi unnoticed by scholars. This appears now to be a highly discursive commentary on Purusottama's lost work on the *Mahābhāṣya,* but the original from which it was copied was hopelessly mutilated.[7] The curious ending and colophon of the book is reproduced below·

अत्रैव लालामयितः फणीन्द्रो गणेन्द्रविस्मापनमत्र केवलं ।
न विद्यते तत्र महाशने भ्रमो मूर्ध्नि स्थितं यस्य चराचरं जगत् ॥
अनिरूपणीये ब्रह्मणि निरूपणार्थं प्रवृत्तस्य पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्यात्र कैवल्यप्राप्तिः ।

ब्रह्मवेशधरः सर्पः कौतुकार्थी गतः सदं ।
कोऽभवानिति संपृष्टः सप्पोहमिति सम्वदन् ॥
रेफः कुत्र तदा पृष्टे व्यत्ययो बहुलं श्रितः ।
छन्दस्येवेति तत् पृष्टे छन्दःकर्त्ता भवानिति ॥

इति फणीन्द्रप्रणीत-महाभाष्यार्थदुरूहतात्पर्यव्याख्यानप्रवृत्त-श्रीमद्देवप्राणपणित-व्याख्याप्रपञ्चे अष्टाध्यायीगतार्थबोधक(:) प्रथमः पादः समाप्त· । श्रीशिवरुद्रशर्मणः स्वाक्षरञ्च शकाब्दाः १७२ ॥ शाके पञ्चनभोद्रिचन्द्रगणिते वारे शनावाश्विने, भाष्यग्रन्थनितान्तदुर्गविपिनप्रोद्दामदन्तावलः । ग्रन्थोयं पुरुषोत्तमेन रचितो व्यालेखि यत्नान्मया, नत्वा श्रीपरदेवताङ्घ्रिकमलं सर्वार्थसिद्धिप्रदं ॥ (fol. 95ª)

6 Stein's *Jammu Cat. of Mss*, 1894, p 136 (Ms No 1570)

7 V. R S Ms No. 649 The scribe states on fol 11b अत्र पत्रत्रयं नास्ति So in fol 20b अत्रादर्शे पत्रत्रयाभावः, fol 32b अत्रादर्शे पञ्चपत्राभावः, and in fol 89a इतः सप्तपत्रं नास्ति । Moreover, fol. 94 is not in continuation of fol 93 and there are stray leaves at the end in a different hand

Here also the original author Purusottama is referred to by his title as 'Śrīmaddeva'. As the first page of the book contains large lacunae the name of the commentator is lost. There are marginal notes in the copy and in fol. 6b the author is referred to in a note as 'Sanmiśraḥ', while a note in fol. 11a calls him 'Śrīmiśraḥ.' He was not apparently a recent author, as the present scribe in 1780 A D. failed to secure a reliable copy of the book, which already became rare by that time The book even in its mutilated state contains several extremely rare quotations from previous authors, some of which are as follows न गुणो गुणसम्पन्नो ह्यरूपी रूपवान् विभुः। अविग्रहो विग्रहश्च शिवब्रह्मगुणाकरं। तेनेदं भाषितं पूर्वं फणिवक्त्रे निदर्शनं। गणेन्द्रः। छायातपविरोधोयं भावाभावो न विद्यते इति पद्यार्द्धं। After this introduction there are a few disconnected letters and words ending with निर्गुणब्रह्म अग्रे व्याख्यास्यामः। Then the following verse of the long lost commentator Śrutapāla is cited and explained —

अत्रैव लालामयितः फणीन्द्रो, गणेन्द्रविस्मापनमत्र केवलं।
न विद्यते तत्र महाशने भ्रमो भ्रमोर्मिमालां शिरसा बिभर्त्यजः॥

इति श्रुतपालविवेचनं।

Then, abruptly, the introductory verse of Purusottama as cited by Sankara above is thus explained: —

यथावदध्यवसायो बुद्धिः सा च साधकस्य देयत्वे यस्यास्ति स बुद्धो नारायणस्तस्मै नमो। विधीयते भाषायां लघुवृत्तिका इत्यनुषङ्गः, बुधायेति विशेषणं। किं कृत्वा, यथात्रिमुनि त्रीन् मुनीननतिक्रम्य। नमः किंविशिष्टं लक्षणं लक्ष्यतेऽभीष्टं येन तथा। ......अथ मङ्गलविचारः। यथा श्रुतिः, प्रणिपत्य सच्चिदानन्दमसृजत। धर्मतश्चाभिमतं सिध्यति इति मैत्रेयवचनं। एतदर्थमेव मङ्गलत्रयमत्र। न च कुण्डलीव्याख्याने कृतबहुशोमङ्गलस्यापि पुरुषोत्तमदेवस्य कथमसिद्धिरिति वाच्यं, अदृष्टसहकारेण मङ्गलं विघ्ननाशकं। उन्मत्तपरिखालङ्घने प्राक्तनानुमानमिति गौतमीयात्।......बौद्धपरितोषाय बुद्धपदं......त्रयाणां मुनीनां यानि लक्षणानि सूत्राणि तान्यनतिक्रम्येति प्राचीनाः। प्राण एव पणो यत्र सा तथा। अविज्ञाता च स्वल्पा च वेदाभाष्यत्वाद्भाषायां पदं...... (fol. 2)

अथ एतद्ग्रन्थमवतारयामः। अथ शब्दानुशासनम्। वैदिकानां लौकिकानां च प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागपरिकल्पनया सामान्यविशेषवता च लक्षणेन गत्यन्तराभाव इति महेश्वरप्रतिज्ञानं अ इ उण् इत्यादि डामरवं सूत्रं। अथशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः......

(Fol. 5b: cf. *Bhāṣāvṛtti* p. 1)

On fol 28a there is an interesting quotation followed by what seems to be a reference to an actual passage of Purusottama —

यदुक्तं, एतादृक् शिष्ट एवासौ लक्षणश्चास्य वर्णितं।
कर्म्म चास्य न गृह्णीयाद्वचनं मन्यते सदा॥

नानुमानं प्रमाणञ्चेत्युक्त्वा बौद्धो बहिर्भवन् ।
कथमित्युक्तमात्रे तु निम्ने लालायितः फणी ॥
द्वित्वापत्तौ समाकीर्णो चोदतो येन केनचित् ।
ईश्वरानुप्रबुद्धत्वाद्बौद्धो बुद्धेर्बहिर्गतः ॥

स्थगितः सविस्तः । शब्दप्रणालीमाह—एतत्प्रयुक्तः शब्दः साधुशब्दः अस्य शब्द-स्यान्वाख्यानमिदमिति ।

No other passages of Purusottama can be definitely traced in the book except the following line in fol. 94a:—

अथ गणपतिपाठार्थं महेश्वरप्रतिज्ञानमुपदिशति—वर्णानामुपदेश इति ।

All the above passages along with the curious ending of the book seem to suggest that the work of Purusottama did not extend beyond the first Pāda only of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

A short index of the topics dealt with in the book and a few extracts are given below.

Fol. 2ª मङ्गलविचारः, 3ᵇ अनुषङ्गः, 4ª ऊहः, 7-10 प्रमाणपरीक्षा, 11ᵇ उपाधिः, 14ᵇ मुक्तिः, 14-21 सांख्यमतं, 27-37 शाब्दबोधः, 37ª व्याप्तिः, 38-55 कारकं, 55-68 प्रत्यक्षादिज्ञानविचारः, 68ª प्रातिपदिकार्थः, 70ᵇ एकवाक्यताविचारः, 71-74 समासः, 75-8 अलंकाराः, 78-81 उपसर्गः, 81-88 कृत्तद्धितादिनिरूपणं, 88-93 शब्दार्थः ॥

कृतमङ्गलाः आशुच्याद्विमुच्यन्ते इत्यत्र कृतमङ्गलाः कृतगोभूहिरण्यशानत्युदकस्पर्शा इति हरिशर्म्मा । (3a)

पदशेषकारस्तु शब्दाध्याहारं शेषमिति वदति । (3b)

"ओंकारश्चाथशब्दश्च......इति व्याडिलिखनात । (5b f n)

अतएव व्याडि :—ज्ञानं द्विविधं सम्यगसम्यक् च । (7a)

तथा चानभिहितसूत्रे उक्तं (इन्दुमित्रेण) :—"एक एकक इत्याहुर्द्वाविल्यन्ये तयोऽपरे । चतुष्कः पञ्चकश्चैव चतुष्के सूत्रमुच्यते ॥" (31b)

यत्पुनरिन्दुमित्रेणोक्तं 'न तिङन्तान्येकशेषं प्रयोजयन्ति.........तत्पूर्वपक्षमात्रं...... अतएव प्राचीनवृत्तिटीकायां कज्जटमतानुसारिणा हरिमिश्रेणापि भाष्यवचनमनूद्य......(36a)

समसनमेव हि सङ्केतितवदिति मीमांसा । तेन समासस्य शक्तिः कल्प्यते तन्मतेन तु लक्षणादिरिति हरिशर्म्मलिखनात् वैयाकरणास्तन्मतमेवाद्रियते । (71b)

Purușottamadeva was a Bengali

All the three works described above have been discovered in Bengal and are absolutely unknown elsewhere in India, thus furnishing further corroboration to an inference drawn from a large number of internal and external evidences, stated below, that Purusottama belonged to Bengal.

(1) Sṛṣṭidhara, one of the Bengali commentators of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, states categorically that the book was written at the request of king Lakṣmaṇa-sena: वैदिकप्रयोगानर्थिनो राज्ञो लक्ष्मणसेनस्याज्ञया प्रकृते कर्मणि प्रसजन् वृत्तेर्लघुताया

हेतुमाह भाषायामिति (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, Intro., p. 11). The following marginal note found on fol. 11a of the Ms. of the *Bhāṣyavyākhyāprapañca* described above substantially agrees with Sṛṣṭidhara, though the reason stated for Puruṣottama's omission of Vedic matter is slightly different here:—तथा च इयं लघुवृत्तिः माहेश्वरादिग्रन्थपरम्परया प्राप्तवैदिक-लौकिकपदसंस्कारकत्वे लक्ष्मणसेन(स्य) राज्ञो वैदिकपदस्यानर्हत्वात् वैदिकपदमुत्सृज्य लौकिक-पदसंस्कारार्थं महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवेन कृता। लौकिकमपि वाक्यं शिष्टप्रयुक्तं यदि भवति तदा तदेव प्रमाणमिति पूर्वमुक्तं श्रीमिश्रेण अतस्तत्संस्कारकत्वाल्लघुवृत्तिरपि तत्त्वज्ञानोपयोगिनी।

Lakṣmaṇasena was undoubtedly the most illustrious patron of learning in Bengal in that age and his political and literary activities begin from about 1140 A.D. in the reign of his grandfather.[8] His patronage thus covers the long period of 60 years (c 1140-1200 A.D.), though he actually came to the throne at an advanced age within 1170-78 A.D. As we shall presently find Puruṣottama's date is not in conflict here Sṛṣṭidhara was comparatively an early writer of about 1500 A.D.[9] and, though he blundered about the authorship of the lost *Bhāgavṛtti*,[10] his statement about the origin of the book he was himself commenting upon cannot be lightly brushed aside. Lakṣmanasena's dominion probably included part of Mithilā and Magadha and Purusottama might very well belong to Mithilā without conflicting

8 Cf *JRASB*, vol VIII, (1942), p 23

9 Sṛṣṭidhara refers to many early and unknown authors the commentary on Amara he consulted was that of Subhūti (under Pan. V ii 83) and not Rāyamukuta Umāpatidāsa's comm on Bhatti (under I iv 96), Tathāgatācāryya on the *Vāsavadattā* (III iii 132), Vallabhācāryya on Māgha (III ii 111) are notable instances. Under I iii 21 he quotes "तथा च, 'कुञ्जरकुलं कुम्भाभयाभ्यर्थनादीनं त्वामनुनाथते कुचयुगं पत्रावृतं मा कृथा' इति च याचनायामिति सरस्वतीतीर्थपादाः।" This is the only place where an author is cited with due reverence, implying that they were not far removed in time Narahari Sarasvatītīrtha, the famous commentator on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, exactly records his birth-date and horoscope and was born in 1298 Śaka (=October, 1376 A D as worked out by the data in the horoscope · *vide* Jhalkikara's Ed., Intr, p. 23, where the reference to the *Vikramābda* is wholly wrong). Srstidhara thus probably lived late in the 15th century A D.

10 Srstidhara was apparently confused by passages like भर्तृहरिणा भागवृत्ति-कृता चोक्तं (*Durghatavṛtti*, p. 117). His mistake is repeated by Dr S K De by identifying two distinct authors mentioned in the line तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता विमल-मतिनाप्येष निपातितः (*Kātantra-pariśiṣṭa*, end of Sandhi)

Sandhi) with Sṛṣṭidhara's statement. But the internal evidence conclusively rules out such conjectures.

(2) Mss. copies of Puruṣottama's masterpiece, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, are available in large numbers in North Bengal and the late Mr. Cakravartī utilised one dozen of them in editing the book, rejecting many others as useless. On the other hand, hardly any copy of the book has been discovered outside Bengal. In one line of argument adopted by some scholars,[11] this alone is sufficient to establish Purusottama's belonging to Bengal.

(3) The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* was studied in the *Tols* of North Bengal till the end of the last century Adam in his Second Report (1835 A.D.) on the Vernacular Education of Bengal gives a complete list of all the Sanskrit seminaries existing then in one single Thana (Natore) of the Rajshahi District. He remarks, "The Sanskrit Grammar of Panini is that which is most generally used in this district. This pandit (Kārtikeyacandia Vidyālaṅkāra of vill Bājurbhāg) first teaches the *Bhashavritti*. .. .. He afterwards reads the *Nyasa* . " (Adam's Reports, Cal. Univ. Ed., pp 561-2).

(4) Puruṣottama has been cited more or less extensively by all grammarians of Bengal almost in an unbroken line from Śaranadeva (1173-4 A.D.) and Sarvānanda (*after* 1159-60 A.D.)[12] down to the last century. Bengal was all along free from the influence of the Benares school of Pāṇini (Bhattoji etc.), while references to Purusottama are very few and far between in the works of that school.[13]

11 According to S K De (*D R Bhandarkar vol*, p 74 f n) the 'eastern origin' of the *Agnipurāna* is indicated by 'the fact that Bengal Mss are by far the more plentiful' A fragment of the *Bhāsāvrtti* is reported from Bombay (Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1887-91, 544) and another from Madras (R 4200) The copy at London (*I O*, p 162) is in Bengali Script.

12 The date (1081 Śaka) recorded by Sarvānanda is not of himself but of a previous scholar Śrīnivāsa In genealogies of Rādhīya Brahmins of Bengal we can trace a very rare name 'Atihara' in the *Vandyaghatiya* family, which seems to be identical with the name of Sarvānanda's father 'Ārtihara', which is equally rare One of the Kulins honoured in the 2nd Samīkarana was Devala and Atihara was an younger brother of Devala's father Sarvānanda then becomes a contemporary of Devala (last quarter of the 12th century)

13 Bhattoji in his *Praudhamanoramā* (Benares, 1907) refers to Purusottama once only by name (p. 138) and once only to the *Bhāsāvrtti* (p 486) On the other hand, we counted *sixteen* references to Purusottama and the *Bhāsāvrtti* in the small printed fragment of Puṇḍarīkāksa Vidyāsāgara's *Kātantrapradīpa* on Kāraka and all of them except two can be traced in the *Bhāsāvrtti* Gopinātha Tarkācāryya.

(5) The late Mr. Cakravartī (*Op. cit.*, Intr., p. 8) rightly points out that the phrase 'punarbaś' in the enumeration of the *Pratyāhāras* (p. 1) by Purusottama implies an identical appearance and pronunciation of the distinct letters 'b' and 'v', which is prevalent nowhere else in India except Bengal. Within a century before Purusottama the Maithila scholar Udayanācāryya throws a sharp fling at the scholars of Bengal for their similarly identical pronunciation of the three sibilants[14] This proves that Mithila cannot be the birth-place of Puruṣottama.

(6) Under Pāṇ. V. iii 57 Puruṣottama gives the very suggestive illustration पाश्चात्या गौडेभ्य आढ्यतराः None but an author from Gauda can compare the particular term "Gauda" with such a sweeping general term as 'pāścātya' The decline of prosperity in Bengal along with the fall of the Pāla empire seems to be reflected in this sentence

(7) The illustration 'Varendrī-Magadham' under II iv. 7 is also quite unique and can very well compare with the 'Rādhā-Magadham' of another Bengali grammarian Kramadīśvara.[15]

(8) Several other illustrations from the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* may be cited as pointing to the Bengali origin of the author —

(i) वङ्गाः जनपदाः under I. ii. 51. There are 8 illustrations in the *Kāśikā* here including this one. But while Jayāditya selects 'Pañcālāḥ' for special analysis at the outset, Purusottama prefers 'Vaṅgāḥ'

(ii) लेखको नास्तिदोषकः under II ii. 24, a familiar apologia of Bengali scribes

(iii) कृष्णदासस्य पुत्रां तुभ्यमहं सम्प्रददे under VI iii. 70, also a familiar name in Bengal.

(iv) पद्मावती as the name of a river under VI. iii 120, being the well-known Padmā of Bengal.

a later author of the 16th cent A D, in his comm on the *Kātantrapariśiṣta* has as many references mostly under the name of *Laghuvṛtti* (Gurunātha's Ed, 1321 B S, pp 43, 173, 234, 265, 280, 283, 300, 304, 373, 376, 451, 456, 463, 465, 472, & 486).

14 In the *Tātparya-pariśuddhi* as follows.—

शुक्लादिव्यावृत्तिनिबन्धनस्तु नीलादिव्यवहारः शषयोरिव सव्यवहारो गौडानाम् ।
··· इत्यादि तात्पर्यपरिशुद्धावुदयनः ।

(cited by Vallabhācāryya in the *Nyāyalīlāvatī*, Chow Ed, p 445).

15 *Saṅkṣiptasāra* VII 359 Kramadīśvara or rather his reviser Jumara seems to have borrowed some striking examples from Puruṣottama and cannot, therefore, be placed before the 13th cent. A.D Vide *Indian Culture*, vol. VI, p 476.

(ii-iv) are not found in the *Kāśikā*.

The cumulative effect of the above evidence can never be mistaken, but in spite of this an esteemed scholar of Bengal most arbitrarily regards this claim of Bengal as *"extremely problematical,"* without assigning any cogent reasons.[16]

Puruṣottama's date and works

Besides the two printed works, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (Ed., V.R.S., Rajshahi, 1918) and the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* (Ed., Luigia Nitti-Dolci, Paris, 1938), the following books are ascribed to the same author

(i) The *Kārakacakra* (L. 2345), an elementary treatise to be shortly published by the V. R. Museum.

(ii-iii) Two polemical works, the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* (Mss. at Rajshahi and Poona) and the *Jñāpakasamuccaya* (Mss. at Oxford and Poona), where the author's scholarship is shown at its best

(iv) An *Uṇādivṛtti* (lost) cited by Ujjvaladatta (II 25, 49, III. 91, 98).

(v) Durghaṭa cited by Sarvānanda (Pt. II, p. 277)

(vi) A comm. on the *Raghuvaṃśam* cited by Subhūticandra, a comm. on the *Amarakoṣa* (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, p. 379).

16 S. K De, in *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to F W Thomas*, 1939, pp 57-8 Our knowledge about these early writers are so meagre and incomplete that every scrap about them should be carefully collected and examined Of late Dr De has been criticising any attempt to put forth Bengal's claim for early Sanskrit authors on indirect evidence He regards the evidence for Śrīharsa the Naisadha-kāra as *"not conclusive"* (*New Indian Antiquary*, August 1939, Ross Number, pp 265-6) and that for Śālikanātha *'unproved'* (*ib*, p 271 f n) Dr De again put forth Bengal's claim for the semi-mythical Pālakāpya on extremely flimsy grounds (*D R Bhandarkar Volume*, 1940, p 73) and advertised it beforehand as *with some justification'* (*New Indian Antiquary*, Ross Number, 1939, p. 263). The *Pālakāpya*, as a matter of fact, was professedly written at the court of king Romapāda of Anga, whose emissaries brought the sage from his hermitage 'resting on the Himālaya (*śailarājāśritam* I. 39) or 'situated by the side of the Himālaya' (*himavataḥ pārśve* I 101), where the *Lauhitya* turns towards the ocean i.e. somewhat in the eastern border of Upper Assam. In other words the residence of Pālakāpya, whether before or afterwards, was exactly beyond the limits of the province of Bengal ! Dr De has vaguely referred in this connection to 'other traditions' of Purusottama's belonging to Mithilā and Orissa. We are not aware of any such traditions, which should be published for examination in connection with the problem before us.

(vii) Comm. on the *Mahābhāșya* noticed above, which was his last work left unfinished.

It is not possible to determine whether the lexicographer Purușottama is identical with the grammarian.[17]

The upper limit of Purușottama's date depends on that of Maitreya Rakșita, the greatest name in the Bengal school of Pāṇini.[18] Rakșita is found cited both in the *Paribhāșāvrtti* and the *Jñāpakasamuccaya* of Purusottama.[19] Rakșita seems to refer to an opinion of Bhojadeva,[20] if so, he cannot be

17 L 2155 is wrongly described as a comm on Bhatti, it is really a complete copy of the *Bhāșāvrtti*

18 S K De criticises our suggestion that Raksita belonged to the Maitreya family of the Vārendra Brahmins of Bengal (*New Ind Ant*, Ross Number, 1939, p 272 f n) As a matter of fact what he has chosen to treat as an 'extraordinary argument' requiring 'no serious consideration' was really an well established tradition long current in North Bengal and requires very serious consideration for being carefully recorded more than a century ago by Adam in his Report on Vernacular Education (1835) He writes ' besides the grammatical works of this school previously cited, this teacher also uses the *Dhātupradīpa* or *Tantrapradīpa*, an illustration of Pāṇini's list of roots with examples of their inflexions by Maitreya Raksita, an ancient author *reputed to have been a native of the village of Maigaon, in the Natore Thana of Rajshahi* ' (Cal Univ Ed, pp 577-78) It should be noted that Adam made a complete survey of all the then existing *Tols* of this particular Thana Maigaon or Māihagrām, as the genealogical works state, was the ancestral place of a branch of the *Maitreya* family and the first ancestor of this branch is actually stated to be one 'Raksitāi', whom the genealogical evidence would place somewhere in the 13th or 14th cent A D (*Kulaśāstradīpikā* by J C Cakravartī, p 37) According to S K De 'as a Buddhist writer the name Maitreya-raksita is quite intelligible by itself', but he does not explain why then he is cited by all later authors, either as 'Maitreya' or as 'Raksita', *but never as 'Maitreya-raksita'* Nor does he examine the implication of the appositional phrase 'Maitreyo Raksitah' found in Ujjvaladatta (I 38) and the reading of the colophon in many copies of the *Tantrapradīpa* as 'Mahopādhyāya-Maitreya-Śrī-Raksita-viracite'.

19 "ज्ञापकञ्चात्रार्थे 'अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे' इत्यसवर्णग्रहणं रश्मिनोपवर्णितम् ।" (V R S Ms No 630, fol 18b cf Siradeva's *Paribhāsāvrtti*, pp 124-25) For the reference in the *Jñāpakasamuccaya*, *vide* Aufrecht *Oxf. Cat*, p 161.

20 Under Pān VII iii 19 Raksita in his *Tantrapradīpa* (V R S Ms fol. 8b cf also *Durghațavṛtti loc cit*.) remarks on the formation of the word 'सौहृद'-केचिदर्थवद्ग्रहणपरिभाषया निपातितसुहृच्छब्दस्य योऽवयवो हृच्छब्दस्तदन्तस्य उत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न भवतीति व्याचक्षते । समुदायो हि तत्र भिन्नवचनः अवयवस्तु निरर्थक एव ॥ This tallies with the opinion of Bhojadeva as cited in the *Ganaratnamahodadhi* of Vardhamāna (Eggeling's Ed, p. 431-32). Bhojadeva reigned about 1010-1055 A D

placed before the last quarter of the 11th cent. (1075-1100 A.D.). In the *Dhātupradīpa* (p. 124) he refers to the *Sarvasva* i.e. the *Upādhyāya-sarvasva* of Dāmodara Sena, apparently a comparatively recent writer of Bengal. It is, therefore, right to place him between 1075-1125 A.D., so that the upper limit of Purusottama's date would be somewhere in the second quarter of the 12th cent. (1125-50 A.D.). This does not conflict with his traditional contemporaneity with Laksmana Sena, for, his reference in Śaraṇadeva (1173-4 A.D.) and Sarvānanda is easily explained by an interval of a decade or two, as all of them belong to the same province and probably also to the same court.[21]

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

21 Śrinivāsa wrote the *Ganitacūdāmani*, on the evidence of Sarvānanda (p 91), in 1081 *Śaka* (1159-60 A D) and was respectfully engaged by Ballāla Sena to write for him the *Adbhutasāgara* as stated in v. 8 —

मीमांसानयमांसल-स्मृतिपरामर्शप्रकर्षस्फुर-
द्वेदाङ्गागमतत्त्वनिस्तपमतिं ग्रन्थेऽत्र पृथ्वीपतिः ।
युक्तायुक्तविवेचनप्रणयिनं प्रीत्या मᳲ (न्ताप)नो-
यशो(सं)समहार्घरत्नमनघश्रीः श्रीनिवासं व्यधात् ॥

The *Adbhutasāgara* was begun in 1090 *Śaka* (1168-9 A.D). This Śrīnivāsa was cited in the *Brāhmanasarvasa* by Halāyudha (*vide* *J.A.S.B*, 1915, p 330), who again was in his turn cited in the *Saduktikarnāmrta* (*ib*, p 333) So all the three scholars flourished under the same monarch Laksmana Sena within his actual reign Similarly, Śarana in 1173-4 A.D might very well refer to Purusottama who wrote, say, in 1150-60 A.D

Yādavaprakāśa on the ancient Geography of India

Yādavaprakāśa was born in the village Tiruppuṭkuli or Gṛdhrasaras near Kāñcīpuram or Conjeeveram. He was the *Guru* (preceptor) of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānujācārya. He is referred to by Hemacandra. He may be taken to have flourished in the second half of the eleventh century A.D. Dr. Gustav Oppert places his date in *c* 1000 A.D.

Yādavaprakāśa has written a book on Sanskrit vocabulary, named *Vaijayantī* [1] The *Deśādhyāya* in *Bhūmikānda* and *Purādhyāya* in *Pātālakāṇḍa* of the *Prayāyabhāga* of this work throw important light on the ancient geography of India. The book has hardly been noticed by the scholars working on this branch of Indology.

The *Vaijayantī* states that[2] there are six islands, *viz*, Aṅgadvīpa, Yavadvīpa, Malayadvīpa, Śaṅkhadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, and Varāhadvīpa. Prācya is to the south-east of Śarāvatī, and Udīcya is to the north-west of it (Śarāvatī). Madhya-deśa is in between them (Prācya and Udīcya) Āryāvarta, otherwise known as Brahmavedi, is between the Vindhya and the Himālaya.

Udīcya includes the following countries (janapada) Cīna (=Kharaṃbhara), Gandhāra (=Dihaṇḍa), Yavana (=Huruṣkara), Sambhāla (=Sūrasena), Laṃpāka (=Muruṇḍa), Toksāra (=Yugālika), Jālaṃdhara (=Trigarta) Hola (=Kharatī), Pratyagratha (=Ahicchatra), Tula (=Kalingaka), Ṭarka (in which is Bālhīka), Vāhīka (in which is Vālhika), Kāśmīra (in which is Kīra), Turuska (in which is Śākhi), Sindhu (in which is Dārada), Kumālaka (=Sauvīra), Yaudheya (=Nrgālika), Pārada, Kiñja, Kolya and other places.

Prācya includes the janapadas Mudgaraka (=Kuja), Prāgjyotisa (=Kāmarūpa and Prāgjālika), Videha (=Tīrabhukti), Srāvastī (=Puraiṃjaka), Rādhā (=Suhma), Puṇḍra (=Varemdrī), Bhaurika (=Samataṭa), Aṅga (=Campā), Vaṅga (=Harikelī), Magadha (=Kīkata), Andhra, Vrata, Sālva and others.

Dakṣiṇāpatha is the name of the country to the south of the Vindhya. In it are the countries (deśa): Pāṇḍya (=Pāṃdiya), Kuntala (=Upahālaka), Cola (=Utpalāvarta), Mahārāṣṭra (=Daṇḍaka), Kerala, Kulya, Setuja, Kulakālaka, Isīka, Śabara, Āraṭṭa, and other countries.

Aparāmta (also known as Pāścātya and Sūryāraka) includes Malada and other countries upto the Vindhya settlements. In it are the following:—

1 Edited by Gustav Oppert, Ph D, Madras, 1893. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Malada (=Sthaura), Karūśa (=Bṛhadgṛha), Traipura (=Hahāla, Caidya, and Cedi), Daśārṇa (=Vedipara), Mālava (=Avanti), Mekala, Bhoja, Kośala and other countries.

Madhyadeśa includes the countries: Marava (=Daśeraka), Śālva (=Kārakutsīya, and whose six parts are Udumbara, Tilakhala, Mahākāra, Yugamdhara, Hulimga, and Śaradamḍa), Kuntala, Kulya, Kaliṅga, Kāśi, Kosala, Mekala, Kusata, Jāmgala, Pṛthava (Pṛthu), Vṛka, and Pataccara.

Names of cities Sāketa (=Ayodhyā and Kosalānandinī), Dvārakā (=Dvāravatī), Madhurā (=Madhūsikā, Mathurā, Madhūpaghnā) situated in Śūrasena, Kauśa (=Kuśasthalī), Vārānasī (=Śivapurī, Vārāṇāsī, and Kāśikā), Mithilā (=Videha), Kanyākubja (=Mahodaya), Hastinī (=Hāstinapura, Nāgāhva, and Hastināpura), Khāṇḍavaprastha, Jayantipura (=Āhuka), Avantī (=Takṣaśilā), Kakundī (=Vāranāvata), Devīkoṭṭa (=Koṭivarsa), Māhiṣmatī (=Vṛkasthalī).

The above geographical observations of *Vaijayantī* may be compared with those made in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃśā*[3] (c. A.D 925), Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintāmani*[4] (c. A.D. 1150), Puruṣottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*[5] (twelfth century), and in other contemporary and nearly contemporary works in order to estimate their value.

Āryāvarta-Brahmavedi. Rājaśekhara and Hemacandra mention that Āryāvarta is the country between the Himalaya and the Vindhya, and it extends from the eastern ocean to the western ocean.[6] Rājaśekhara elsewhere states[7] that the Narmadā is the boundary between the Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha. According to Hemacandra Brahmavedi is the territory between the five Rāma lakes.[8] Bhuvaneśvar Inscription[9] of Bhatta-Bhavadeva states that Rāḍhā is situated in Āryāvarta.

Udīcya. According to *Vaijayantī* it extended from Ramnagar, in Rohilkhand (Ahicchatra), to Lamghan (Lampaka) in Afghanistan. It appears from the Ghoshrawa inscription of Devapāla that Udīcīpatha and Uttarāpatha are identical.[10] Rājaśekhara mentions Udīcya as one of the four quarters (*diśaḥ*). He places Uttarāpatha beyond Pṛthudaka,

3 Gaekwad Oriental Series, No I.

4 Ed. S V Dharmapuri, *Yashovijaya* Jaina Granthamāla (41), p. 379 ff

5 Ed. C. A Seelakkandha Bombay, 1916, p 30 The earliest reference to Puruṣottamadeva is that by Sarvānanda (1159 A D) For further discussion cf. Intro XXII, *Kalpadrukośa*, *GOS*, No. XLII

6 *Kāvya*, p 93 7 *Bālarāmāyana*, Act VI 8 *Abhi.*, p 379

9 *Ins Bengal*, 36. 10 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, 47, 49.

modern Pehoba, in the Karnal District, Punjab, and states that Śaka, Kekaya, Vokkāṇa, Hūṇa, Vāṇāyuja, Kāmboja, Vālhīka, Valhava, Limpāka, Kulūta, Kīra, Tangaṇa, Tuṣāra, Turuska, Barbara, Hurahūva, Hūhuka, Sahuḍa, Haṃsamārga, Ramaṭha, Karakaṇtha etc., are situated in it.[11] Hemacandra agrees with Yādavaprakāśa in placing it to the north-west of Śarāvatī.[12] An inscription, dated 1107 A.D., relates that Banjsthana (Madhukarghar, in the Bundi State, Rajputana) lay in the extremity of Dakhin and Udīcya-deśa.[13]

Gāndhāra-Dihanda Gāndhāra is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla.[14]

Yavana-Huruṣkara. Yavana is referred to in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla. Rājaśekhara places Yavana country in Paścād-deśa.[15]

Sambhāla-Śūrasena Śūrasena was the country in which Mathurā was situated [16] Rājaśekhara refers to Śūrasena.[17]

Lampaka-Murunda. Hemacandra also states that Lampaka is Muruṇda.[18] Rājaśekhara seems to be referring to Lampaka as Limpaka [19] Murunda is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta along with Daivaputra Sāhi Sahānusāhi and Śaka.[20] Lampaka is the modern Lamghan in Afghanistan.

Toksāra-Yugālika , Tokṣāra seems to be identical with Tusāra, mentioned by Rājaśekhara.[21] It is identified with upper Oxus valley, including Balkh and Badakshan

Jalaṃdhara-Trigarta. Hemacandra agrees with *Vaijayantī* on this point. Purusottama mentions Trigartaka as another name of Ṭakka An inscription from Baijnath states that Jālaṃdhara is identical with Trigarta.[22]

Pratyagratha-Ahicchatra. *Vaijayantī* finds support in Hemacandra.[23] It is identified with Ramnagar, in the Bareilly District.

11 *Kāvya*, 94 12 *Abhi*, p 380

13 Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p 159

14 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p 14 *Cf* Foucher, *L'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, vol I, p 193 Gandhārāmandala

15 *Ibid*, *Kāvya* 94 *Cf* Yavana-pura N L Dey, *Geo Dic*

16 *Vaijayanti*, p 37, v 25 17 *Kāvya*, 8, 50 18 *Abhi*, p 383

19 *Kāvya*, 94 20 *CII*, 8 21 *Kāvya*, 94

22 *Abhi*, p 382, *Trikānda*, p 31, *EI*, I, 116, 117

23 *Abhi*, p 383 The early Jaina literature states that Ahicchatra is in Jāngala (*IA*, XX, 375) But Hemacandra makes it clear that Pratyagratha, otherwise called Ahicchatra, is distinct from Jāngala or Nirjala (*Abhi*, p. 380).

Ṭarka-Bālhīka Rājaśekhara refers to Ṭakka and Vālhika.[24] Hemacandra differs from Yādavaprakāśa. He states that Ṭakka is another name of Vāhīka, and Vālhīka is distinct from it.[25] Ṭakka is the country round Sialkot, in the Punjab. Puruṣottama mentions Bālhika and Trigartaka as different names of Ṭakka[26]

Vāhīka-Vālhika Rājaśekhara also distinguishes Vāhīka from Bālhika.[27] Hemacandra reports that Vālhika is an alternative form of Vālhīka.[28]

Kāśmīra Kīra Rājaśekhara places Kīra in Uttarāpatha, and locates Kāśmīra elsewhere.[29] Puruṣottama mentions that Kīra is in Kāśmīra. Hemacandra states that Mādhumata, Sārasvata and Vikarnika are the other names of Kāśmīra.[30] Kīra is identified with the Kangra valley, in the Punjab.

Turuṣka-Śākhi Rājaśekhara refers to Turuṣka.[31] Hemacandra mentions Sākhi as the second name of Turuska.[32] Purusottama states that Khaśa is same as Turuṣka.[33]

Sindhu-Dārada Sindhu is to be located to the north of Kashmir, as the Dārada country was situated in it.

Kumālaka-Sauvīra *Vaijayantī's* report is supported by Hemacandra.[34] It is identified with Multan.

Cīna-Kharambhara, Hola-Kharatī, Tula-Kaliṅgaka, Yaudheya-Nrgâlika, Pārada Kiñja, and Kulya are not mentioned by the authorities referred to above.

Prācya *Vaijayantī's* statement regarding the location of Prācya agrees with Hemacandra[35] Rājaśekhara mentions Prācya or Prācī as one of the four quarters, which includes the countries Anga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra etc.[36] According to him Pūrva-deśa is beyond Vārāṇasi In it are situated—Aṅga, Kalinga, Kosala, Tosala, Utkala, Magadha, Mudgara, Videha, Nepāla, Pundra, Prāgjyotisa, Tāmaliptaka, Malada, Mallavartaka, Suhma, Brahmottara, etc[37] Purusottama makes a confusion between Madhya-deśa and Pūrva-deśa.[38]

24 *Kāvya*, p 51, 94.
25 *Abhi*. p. 382, 383
26 *Trikānda*, p 31
27 *Kāvya*, p 8
28 *Abhi*. p 383.
29 *Kāvya*, pp 94, 98
30 *Abhi*, p 382 *Trikānda*, p 31
31 *Kāvya*, p 94
32 *Abhi*, p 383.
33 *Trikānda*, p 31
34 *Abhi*, p. 383
35 *Abhi*, p 380
36 *Kāvya*, pp. 94, 98.
37 *Kāvya*, p 94.
38 *Trikānda*, p 31

Mudgaraka-Kuja Rājaśekhara mentions it as Mudgara.[39] It is to be identified with Mudgalagiri or Mudgagiri, modern Munghyr [40]

Prāgjyotiṣa-Kāmarūpa-Prāgjālika. Rājaśekhara mentions Prāgjyotiṣa as a country and Kāmarūpa as a mountain.[41] Hemacandra agrees with *Vaijayantī* that Kāmarūpa is another name of Prāgjyotisa.[42] Purusottama states that Prāgjyotiṣa is in Kāmarūpa.[43] Vaidyadeva's Kamauli plate mentions that Kāmarūpa-Maṇḍala is in Prāgjyotiṣa-Bhukti.[44]

Videha-Tīrabhukti. Rājaśekhara refers to the country of Videha.[45] Puruṣottama states that Nicchavi (Licchavi?) and Videha are the alternative names of Tīrabhukti.[46] Hemacandra mentions Videha as a city.[47] *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* locates Tīrabhukti on the north bank of the Ganges [48] A miniature label in a Nepal Mss. of the eleventh century lays down that Vaiśālī is situated in Tīrabhukti [49]

Srāvastī-Puramjaka Srāvastī is mentioned in the inscriptions of this period.

Rāḍhā-Suhma Rājaśekhara refers to Suhma, and distinguishes it from Tāmaliptaka.[50] It is known from Hemacandra and Purusottama that Dāmalipta, Tāmaliptī, Tamālinī, Stambapū, Visnugṛha, Velākūla, Tamālika are the other names of the city of Tāmalipta [51] Daṇḍin in his *Daśakumāracarita*[52] states that the city of Dāmalipa is situated in Rāḍhā Dhoyī in his *Pavanadūta* mentions that Suhma is on the bank of the Ganges [53] Nīlakantha in his commentary on *Mahābhārata* lays down that Suhma is identical with Rāḍhā.[54] The Sonpur grant[55] of Mahāśivagupta distinguishes Rādhā from Gauḍa. *Prabodhacandrodaya* and two inscriptions of the twelfth century state that Rādhā is in Gauḍa-deśa.[56]

Puṇḍra-Varendrī The country of Pundra formed a part of the Pundravardhana-Bhukti, which included also Vanga and Samatata. The Silimpur inscription[57] states that the village Vālagrāma, the ornament of

39 *Kāvya*, p 93
40 *Cf* N L Dey's *Geo. Dictionary*
41 *Kāvya*, p 93.
42 *Abhi*, p 381
43 *Trikāṇḍa.*, p 31.
44 *Gaudalekhamālā*, p 134
45 *Kāvya*, p. 93
46 *Trikānda*, p 31
47 *Abhi*, p 389
48 T Ganapati Sastri, p. 282
49 Foucher, *Icono*, I, p 197
50 *Kāvya*, p 93
51 *Abhi*, p 391; *Trikānda*, p 31
52 Ed Jiv and Vid V p 244
53 *JASB*, 1905, pp. 45, 57
54 Sabhā P, Ch. XXIX
55 *JBORS*, II, 45-49
56 *Ins Madras Presidency*, vol I, p 353, Cg 248.
57 *EI.*, XIII, 283

Varendrī, is situated in Puṇḍra. It is known from *Rāma-carita*[58] that the village Bṛhadvaṭu is the crest-jewel of Varendrī, and is attached to Puṇḍra-vardhanapura. It will follow from these sources that the country of Puṇḍra-vardhana was either identical with Varendrī or included it, in which was situated the city of Puṇḍravardhana. The *Karatoyā-māhātmya*[59] states that the people of Puṇḍra purified themselves by taking their bath in the Kara-toyā. *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*[60] mentions *Puṇḍrāḥ syur Varendrī Gauḍa nīvṛtiḥ*. Some take it to mean—Puṇḍra is Varendrī and Gauḍa is Nīvṛti. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa*[61] mentions Gauḍa and Puṇḍra side by side. But the above statement of *Trikāṇḍāśeṣa* may also be taken to mean that Varendrī, Gauḍa and Nīvṛti are the other names of Puṇḍra Gauḍa cannot be taken to be distinct from Puṇḍra-Varendrī *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[62] mentions that the city of Puṇḍra-vardhana was the seat of the king of Gauḍa *Rāma-carita* mentions Varendrī as the paternal kingdom of Rāmapāla It elsewhere mentions Rāmapāla as the king of Gauḍa.[63] The *Purānsarvasva*[64] states that Varendrī was situated in Gauḍa. The Kollagalu inscription,[65] dated A.D. 967, reports that Gadādhara was the crest-jewel of Gauḍa and the illuminator of Varendrī.

Bhaurika-Samataṭa. It is known from the Baghaura inscription[66] that the Tipperah District was in Samataṭa *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* states that Samotadya (Samataṭa?) is to the east of Lohitya. The same authority elsewhere mentions Sāmataṭa and Sāmātata.[67]

Vaṅga-Harikela Vikrampur in the Dacca District and Ramasiddhi in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Bakhargaṇj District were in Vaṅga.[68] So it may be assumed that the Dacca, Faridpur, and part of Bakarganj Districts were situated in Vaṅga. *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* mentions that Vangaka is to the east of Lauhitya It elsewhere states that Vanga-deśa was on the bank of the Lauhitya.[69] Vaṅgaka is identical with Vaṅga. Jayamangala in his commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* places Vaṅga to the east of Lauhitya[70] But in view of the fact that Vikrampur was to the west of Lauhitya, the above statement of *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* and Jayamaṅgala

58 *Kavi Pr*, V. 1.
59 *Skanda Purāna*
60 P. 31
61 T G Sastri, p. 232
62 *Gauḍa-rājāśrayam-----nagaram Paundravardhanam*—B.K IV, v 421
63 Ch. I, vs. 38, 39, *Kavi Pr*, v 11
64 Aufrecht *Cat*, p 87.
65 *EI*, XXI, 264
66 *EI*., XVII
67 T Sastri, pp 206, 232, 332.
68 *Ins Bengal*, 130, 177.
69 T G Sastri, pp 206, 325.
70 *Vaṅgā Lauhityāt purveṇa*

cannot be accepted as correct.[71] *Matsya-Purāna*[72] reports that the Ganges passes by Kauśika, Magadha, Brahmottara, Vaṅga and Tāmralipta. Vaṅga may be taken to have been the country between the Ganges and the Meghna.

Harikela,[73] Harikelā,[74] Harikeli,[75] Harikella,[76] Harikelī[77] and Harikola[78] are synonymous terms. Yādavaprakāśa's statement that Harikelī is the same as Vaṅga finds support in Hemacandra.[79] Rāmpāl plate[80] of Śrīcandra seems to be corroborating the above statement of Yādavaprakāśa. The inscription states that Śrīcandra's father, Trailokyacandra, who was the king of Harikela, became the ruler of Candradvīpa This suggests that Harikela was contiguous to Candradvīpa. Candradvīpa was situated in the southern part of the Bakarganj District. Śrīcandra was the ruler of Vanga, and he and his predecessors are not known to have ever held sway over the territory to the east of the Meghna. So the normal conclusion will be that Trailokyacandra, the king of Vaṅga-Harikela, annexed Candradvīpa to his kingdom.

Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa[81] refers to Vanga, Samataṭa, Harikela, Kalasamukha, and Carmaraṅga side by side. This may be taken to be distinguishing Vaṅga from Harikela But *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa's* statements are not always reliable. It mentions Vidiśā, Mālava, and Daśārṇa side by side.[82] It will be wrong to assume that Vidiśā was distinct from Mālava and Daśārṇa.[83]

Aṅga-Campā. Rājaśekhara refers to Aṅga. Hemacandra mentions

71 The Jaina *Upāṅga Prajñāpana* mentions that Tāmralipti was situated in Vanga The same authority again tells us that Kotivarsa was situated in Rādhā (*Kodīvarisam va Lāḍhāya*) *IA*, XX, 375 So no importance should be attached to the above statements of this authority

72 Ch 120, vs 43-52, Bangavāsi ed, p 360 73 Rampal Pl, *Ins Beng*, 4

74 Chittagong Pl of Kāntideva, *Modern Review*, 1922

75 *Kalpadrukośa*, Gaek Or S, vol I, No XLII, p 7

76 Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique l'Inde*, vol I, p 200

77 Hemacandra, *Abhi*, 382, *Vaijayantī*

78 Dacca University Mss 79 *Abhi*, p 382 80 *Ins Beng*, p 4

81 T G Sastri, pp 232, 233 82 *Ibid*, 332

83 I-tsing places Samatata in Eastern India, and states that Harikela is the eastern limit of Eastern India (Beal's *Life*, Intro XXXI) This will place Harikela to the east of Comilla *Kalpadrukośa*, (*op cit*,) a work of the seventeenth century, states that Śrihatta is Harikeli This finds support in a Dacca University Mss of the same period Another Mss of Dacca University mentions Harikola and Śrihaṭṭa as identical. (I am thankful to Mr. S C. Banerji, M.A., of the Mss Section of the D U. Library for drawing my attention to the above statement of *Kalpadrukośa*)

that Aṅga is indicated by Campā.[84] Both Hemacandra and Puruṣottama state that Mālinī is the other name of the (city) of Campā[85] Aṅga is identified with Bhagalpur

Magadha-Kīkata Hemacandra and Puruṣottama support *Vaijayantī*.[86] Rājaśekhara states that Magadha is to the east of Vārāṇasī.[87]

Andhra An inscription[88] from the Andhra country calls Vijayāditya III, king of Andhra, as the king of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta also places Andhra in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[89]

Vaijayantī also places Salya in Madhyadeśa Kuja and Vrata are not found mentioned in any contemporary record

Dakṣiṇāpatha Rājaśekhara places Dakṣiṇāpatha to the south of Māhiṣmatī. Countries, situated in it, are Mahārāstra, Māhisaka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakaiśika, Sūrpāraka, Kāñcī, Kerala, Kāvera, Murala, Vanavāsaka, Simhala, Coḍa, Dandaka, Pāndya, Pallava, Gaṅga, Nāsikya, Koṅkana, Kollagiri, Kallara etc. It [90] included Mahendra mountain A miniature label in a Mss. from Nepal of the eleventh century states that Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram) is in Dakṣiṇāpatha [91]

Kuntala-Upahālaka Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī* [92]

Cola-Utpalāvarta Cola is identical with Coda, mentioned by Rājaśekhara. According to the same authority Utpalāvatī is the name of a river in Dakṣiṇāpatha.[93] This river is the modern Vyapar, in the Tennevally District.

Mahārāṣṭra-Dandaka Rājaśekhara distinguishes Mahārāṣṭra from Dandaka

Kerala According to Hemacandra Oṇḍra is the same as Kerala.[94]

Kulya, Setuja, Kulakālaka, Isīka, and Āratta are not mentioned in the contemporary records *Mahābhārata* places Āratta in the Punjab [95]

Aparānta-Pāścātya-Sūryāraka. Rājaśekhara refers to Pāścād-deśa, which lay beyond Devasabhā, and which included Devasabhā, Surāstra, Daśeraka, Travaṇa, Bhrgukaccha, Kacchīya, Ānarta, Arbuda, Brāhmanavāha, Yavana

84 *Abhi*, p 382
85 *Ibid*, 300, *Trikānda*, 3..
86 *Abhi*, 383; *Trikānda* 31
87 *Kāvya*, p 33
88 *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1938
89 *CII*, 8
90 *Kāvya*, p. 93
91 Foucher, *Icon Boud Inde*, I, p 201
92 *Abhi*, 383
93 *Kāvya*, p. 93
94 *Abhi*, 383
95 *Cf* N L Dey's *Geo Dic*
96 *Kāvya*., p. 94.

Malada-Sthaura. Rājaśekhara places Malada in Pūrva-deśa.[97]

Karūśa-Bṛhadgrha. Hemacandra and Purusottama support *Vaijayantī.*[98] Rājaśekhara mentions Bṛhadgrha as the name of a mountain in Pūrva-deśa.[99]

Traipura-Hahāla-Caidya-Cedi. Hemacandra[100] mentions that Dāhala and Caidya are the other names of Tripura. According to Puruṣottama Caidya is the same as Ḍāhala.[101]

Daśārṇa-Vedipara. An inscription from Kalinjar mentions the Candella Paramārdi as the king of Daśārṇa.[102]

Mālava-Avanti. Hemacandra and Purusottama support *Vaijayantī.*[103] Kings of the Paramāra dynasty, who ruled from Dhārā and Ujjain, are mentioned as kings of Mālava.[104] Kāmasūtra's commentator Jayamangala, who flourished later than the fourteenth century, states that Āvantika, which is identical with Ujjayinī-deśa, is apara-Mālava,[105] This has led some writers to suggest that Mālava proper is Daśārna. Jayamangala's geographical knowledge is not perfect It has already been noticed that he places Vaṅga to the east of Lauhitya. His remark on Mālava is to be rejected as it runs counter to the earlier authorities. Rājaśekhara mentions Mālava Avanti and Vidiśā, and Mañjuśrī mentions Mālava, Vidiśā and Daśārṇa side by side.[106]

Bhoja Bhoja is mentioned in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla.

Vaijayantī also places Mekala and Kosala in Madhya-deśa.

Madhya-deśa Rājaśekhara states that Madhya-deśa lies between Uttarāpatha, Pūrva-deśa, Daksināpatha and Paścād-deśa. It extends from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, and from Vinaśana to Prayāga.[107] Hemacandra agrees with Rājaśekhara in regard to the extent of Madhyadeśa.[108]

97 *Kāvya*, p 93, *cf* N L Dey's *Geo Dic*

98 *Abhi*, 383, *Trikānda*, p 31 — 99 *Kāvya*, p 93

100 *Abhi*, 381 — 101 *Trikānda*, p 31.

102 Cunningham, *ASI*, XXI, 37 — 103 *Abhi*, 381, *Trikānda*, 31

104 Author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*

105 *Vaṅgā Lauhityāt pūrvena/ Angā Mahānadyāh pūrvena/ Kalingā Gauda-Visayāddaksinena/ Vālhika deśyā Uttarāpathikāh/ Āvantikā Ujjayini deśa bhavāh/ tā evāpara Mālavyah/ paścima samudra samīpe Aparānta deśah/ apara Mālava paścimena Lata-Visayah/ . . Narmadā Karnāta Visayayormadhye Mahārāṣtra-Visaya/----*

106 *Kāvya*, p 9, T G Sastri

107 *Kāvya.*, 94 — 108 *Abhi*, 379

Purusottama lays down that Kuruksetra is Vinaśana.[109] *Vaijayantī* differs from the above authorities and includes Kalinga and Kuntala in Madhyadeśa.

Marava-Daśeraka. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.[110] Puruṣottama states that Marubhuva is an alternative name of Daśeraka.[111] Rājaśekhara places Daśeraka in Paścād-deśa. It is to be identified with Marwar.

Sālva-Kārakutsīya. Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī*.[112]

Udumbara. Udumbara-Viṣaya, which was situated in the Kālañjara-Maṇḍala, has been mentioned in the Barah copper plate of the Pratihāra Bhoja.[113]

Rajaśekhara places Kalinga and Kosala in Pūrvadeśa and Mekala mountain in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Pārthaparākrama mentions the Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III, as the king of Jāṅgala.[114]

Sāketa-Ayodhyā-Kosalānandinī. Hemacandra states that Kosala and Ayodhyā are also known as Sāketa.[115] According to Purusottama Ayodhyā, and Uttara-Kosala, and Sāketa indicate the same countries [116] Candravati plate[117] of the Gāhadavāla Candradeva lays down that Ayodhyā is identical with Uttara-Kosala.

Dvārakā-Dvāravatī Hemacandra supports *Vaijayantī* [118] Purusottama states that Abdhinagarī is Dvāravatī, and Dvārakā is Vanamālinī.[119]

Madhurā-Madhuṣikā-Mathurā-Madhupaghna Hemacandra reports that Madhurā and Madhupaghna are the other names of Mathurā [120] According to Purusottama Mathurā is Madhupaghna.[121]

Vaijayantī distinguishes *Kauśa-Kuśasthalī* from *Kānyakubja-Mahodaya* But Hemacandra mentions that Kānyakubja, Mahodaya, Kanyākubja, Gādhipura, Kauśa, and Kuśasthala are the alternative names.[122] According to Puruṣottama, Kuśasthala is Kānyakubja.[123]

Vārāṇasī-Sivapurī-Vārānāsī-Kāśikā Hemacandra remarks that Kāśi, arāṇasī, Vārāṇasī and Śivapurī are the different names [124] Purusottama states

109 *Trikānda*, 32 — 110 *Abhi*, 382
111 *Trikāṇḍa.*, 31 — 112 *Abhi*, 382
113 *EI*, XIX, 15.
114 *Kāvya*, Gack. Or S No IV p 3.
115 *Abhi*, 389. — 116 *Trikānda*, 31
117 *EI*, XIV, 193 — 118 *Abhi*, 391
119 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32 — 120 *Abhi*, 390
121 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32 — 122 *Abhi.*, 389
123 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32. — 124 *Abhi*, 389.

that Vārāṇasī is Tīrtharāja.[125] *Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa* and some Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions mention Kāśī as a city.[126] The Nanyaura plate of the Candella Dhaṅga refers to Kāśikā.[127]

Mithilā-Videha. Both Hemacandra and Purusottama support *Vaijayantī.*[128]

Hastinī-Hāstinapura-Nāgāhva-Hastināpura Hemacandra mentions that Hāstinapura, Hastinīpura, Gajāhva, and Hastināpura are identical.[129] Puruṣottama remarks that Hastināpura and Gajāhva are the other names of Nāgāhva.[130]

Avantī-Takṣaśilā Hemacandra reports that Viśālā, Avantī, and Puṣkarandinī are the other names of Ujjayanī.[131] *Vaijayantī* is not supported by any other authority.

Devīkotta-Kaṭivarṣa Hemacandra[132] lays down that Koṭivarṣa, Bāṇapura, Devīkota, Umāvana, and Śoṇitapura are identical. Purusottama agrees with Hemacandra except that he mentions Usāvana in place of Umāvanta.[133] Manahali grant of Madanapāla refers to Kotivarsa-Visaya.[134] Kotivarṣa is identified with Bangadh in the Dinajpur District, Bengal.

Māhiṣmatī-Vṛkasthalī The Paramāra Devapāla granted lands from his camp at Māhiṣmatī, which is identified with Mandhata on the Narmada[135] Rājaśekhara refers to Māhismatī beyond which lay Dakṣināpatha.[136]

Kakundī-Vāranāvata and Khāṇḍavapiastha are not mentioned elsewhere.

It will follow from the above discussion that Yādavaprakāśa's observations on the ancient geography of India are fairly accurate It is interesting to note that some of the countries and their different names mentioned by him, do not find place in the works of his contemporaries The importance of the *Vaijayantī* for the knowledge in ancient geography of India can hardly be overestimated.

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125 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32
126 T G Sastri, p 642, *EI*, IV, 124-128
127 *IA*, XVI, 203
128 *Abhi*, 389, *Trikāṇḍa*, 32
129 *Abhi*, 390.
130 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32
131 *Abhi*, 390 (Rājaśekhara mentions Hastināpura as a *janapada* *Kāvya*, p 8)
132 *Ibid*, 390
133 *Trikāṇḍa*, 32
134 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p 147
135 *EI*, IX, 103
136 *Kāvya*, 93

Some Tales of Ancient Israel, their Originals and Parallels

Many a Jewish legend can be traced to an Indian source. In this paper I propose to narrate some tales of Ancient Israel and their parallels with a view to indicate their Indian origin.

1 Perverse Judgment

A *Judges of Sodom*

The judges of Sodom were notorious for giving perverse decisions based on an equally perverse code of laws The following are some of the examples

(a) *1* The possessor of one ox had to find pasture for the day for all the cattle of the town, the poor man who had no ox had to do it for five days.

(b) 2 If a man cut off the ear of another man's donkey, he was compelled to keep and feed the animal until the ear had healed.

(c) 3 If in a quarrel a man hurt another and drew blood, the wounded man had to pay his assailant for the service he had rendered him by bleeding him, which they maintained, was a medical operation

Of course clever men could by their intelligence retaliate by the "hoist-with-his-own-petard" method.

A S Rappoport in the Introduction (p xxxiii) to his *Myths and Legends of Ancient Israel* (Vol I) says. "Benfey (*Pantshatantra* I pp 402-3) calls attention to a tale by Lutfullah in which the judge follows the method of the judges of Sodom. In the third century of the Hegira there lived in Cairo a judge of the name of Mansur ben Musia. (a) *4* A soldier had borrowed money from a Jew and given the latter a bill wherein he promised him a pound of his flesh should he be unable to pay. When the day of payment arrives, the soldier finds himself unable to pay his debt, the Jew wants to drag him before the judge, and the soldier escapes. (b) *5* In his flight he jostles against against a pregnant woman whom he knocks down and she miscarries, (c) 6 He runs against a rider, gives his horse a blow and knock out the latter's eye. (d) *7* He runs, climbs up upon a

hut, falls through the roof and kills a man. The Jew, the cousin of the pregnant woman, the rider, and the son of the man who had been killed, catch the soldier and bring him before the judge (e) 8 In front of the latter's house they see a drunken man, whilst another man, still alive, is being buried. The judge now pronounces the following sentences·

(a) 4 With regard to the Jew, he decides in the (well-known) Shakesperian fashion, namely

> Therefore prepare thee to cut off the flesh
> Shed thou no blood, nor cut thou less or more,
> But just a pound of flesh, if thou cut'st more
> ... .
> Thou diest, and all thy goods are confiscate.
>
> --*The Merchant of Venice* IV 1.

(b) 5 With regard to the woman, the soldier is to live so long with her until she has another child.

(c) 6 As for the rider, who was asking half the price of the horse which he valued at 200 gold pieces, the judge decrees that the horse be cut lengthwise into two equal halves, the undamaged half being kept by the owner, whilst the damaged be given to the soldier, who, however, should pay 100 gold pieces to the rider

(d) 7 As for the son whose father the soldier had killed, the son is to get upon the roof of the hut, fall down upon the soldier and thus kill him Naturally, all the paintiffs withdraw their claims.

(e) 8 As for the man who was being buried alive, two witnesses had testified that he had died, but he had now returned. As the two witnesses had confirmed their statement that the man had really died, it could not be his real self but a ghost, and in order to put an end to the discussion, the judge had ordered the man to be buried.

B. *A Tale from the Kathāsaritsāgara*

Now, here is a story from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Bk. xii, ch. 72, vol. II. p. 180 of C. H. Tawney's translation) which seems to have been the (nearest) inspirer of the Sodom judgment.

The story of Devabhūti tells 9 how the excellent wife of the learned Brahman of that name went into the kitchen garden to get vegetables, and saw a donkey belonging to a washerman eating them. So she took up

a stick and ran after the donkey, and the animal fell into a pit......and broke its hoof. When its master heard of that, he came in a passion and beat with a stick and kicked the Brahman woman. *10* Accordingly she, being pregnant, had a miscarriage. but the washerman returned home with his donkey Then her husband complained to the chief magistrate of the town The foolish man immediately had the washerman, whose name was Batasura, brought before him, and . delivered this judgment: *9* "Since the donkey's hoof is broken, let the Brahman carry the donkey's load for the washerman until the donkey is again fit for work, *10* and let the washerman make the Brahman's wife pregnant again, since he made her miscarry The Brahman and his wife in their despair took poison and died The king put to death the inconsiderate judge

C *A Russian Tale*

There is a story well-known in Russia under the title of "Shemyakin Sud" or "Shemyaka's Judgment" derived from literary sources, with a variant given by Afanasief[1] ("Shazki," V. no. 19) *11* A poor man borrowed from his rich brother a pair of oxen, with which he ploughed his plot of ground Coming away from the field he met an old man, who asked to whom the oxen belonged "To my brother," was the reply. "Your brother is rich and stingy," said the old man, "Choose which you will, either his son shall die or his oxen." The poor man thought and thought He was sorry both for the oxen and for his brother's son At last he said, "Better let the oxen die" "Be it as you wish," said the old man. When the poor man reached his home the oxen suddenly fell down dead The rich brother accused him of having worked them to death. and carried him off to the king *12* On his way to the king's court the poor man accidentally sat down upon a baby and killed it *13* and tried to commit suicide by jumping off a bridge but only succeeded in crushing an old man whose son was taking him into the river for a bath *14* He had also had the misfortune to pull off a horse's tail without meaning it. When summoned before the court for all these involuntary offences, he took a stone in his pocket tied up in a handkerchief, and stealthily produced it when he was held up before the judge, saying to himself, "If the judge goes against me I will kill him with this" *15* The judge fancied that the stone was a bribe of a

1 Schiefner and Ralston—*Tibetan Tales*, Intro pp XL ff.

hundred roubles which the defendant wished to offer him, so he gave judgment in his favour in each case. *14* The poor man was to keep his brother's horse until its tail grew again, *12* to marry the woman whose child he had crushed, and *13* to stand under the bridge from which he had jumped and allow the son of the man he had killed to jump off the bridge on to him. The owner of the horse, the husband of the woman, and the son of the crushed man were all glad to buy off the culprit whom they had brought up for judgment *15* "The satirical turn of the story and the allusion to bribe-taking are characteristic features of the Russian variants of this well-known Eastern tale"

D. *A Tibetan Tale* (Ādarśamukha, no. 3. of *T.T*).

16 A Brahman named Dandin borrowed a pair of oxen from a householder. After ploughing his land, he went with the oxen to the householder's dwelling. As the man was at his dinner, Dandin let the oxen go to their stall, but they went out again by another door. When the householder had finished his meal, he found that the oxen had disappeared, he seized Dandin and asked where the oxen were. Dandin replied, "Did I not bring them back to your house?" The other accused him of having stolen them and asked him to come to King Ādarśamukha for judgment They set out on their way

17 A man from whom a mare had run away called out to Dandin to stop her. He asked how he was to stop her The man told him to do so in any way he could. Dandin picked up a stone and flung it at the mare's head, and thereby killed her The man brought him to the king.

18 Dandin tried to run away As he sprang down from a wall, he fell upon a weaver who was at his work below, in consequence of which the weaver died The weaver's wife wanted Dandin to restore her husband to him and brought him to the king for judgment.

19 They came to a deep river Dandin asked a carpenter who was fording it with an axe in his mouth regarding the river's depth In replying the carpenter let drop his axe and accused Dandin of having flung his axe into it.

20 By and by they who were leading Dandin along came to a drinking house. In it Dandin sat down upon the landlady's new-born babe, which was lying asleep under a dress, and killed it. The woman wanted Dandin to return it to her and brought him to the king.

[*21* On their way Dandin was successively requested by a crow, some gazelles, a partridge, a snake, a snake and ichneumon and a young wife to take charge of commission from each of them and get for them a satisfactory explanation of their queries. He assented].

16 The king asked the house-holder, "Did you see the oxen or did you not see them? Did Dandin drive your oxen into the stalls?"

"Yes, O king."

The king said, "As Dandin gave this man no information, his tongue shall be cut off As this man did not tie up his oxen, his eyes shall be put out."

The complainant who had lost his oxen and was now losing his eyes withdrew his suit

17 The king said, "As this man told him he might stop the mare by any means whatsoever, his tongue shall be cut off, but Dandin shall have his hand cut off, because he thought it impossible to stop the mare except by throwing a stone at her" The man who had lost his mare and was now going to lose his tongue did not press the suit

18 The king said to the weaver's wife, "Then you shall receive this man as your husband" The woman withdrew her complaint

19. The king ordered the carpenter's tongue to be cut off for he had spoken in the middle of the river, and Dandin's eyes to be put out as he though seeing the river was deep asked the carpenter if it was so. The carpenter dropped the suit

20 The king said, "As the landlady left her child sleeping with a dress completely hiding it, her hand shall be cut off, but Dandin shall have his eyes put out, because he sat down upon an unfamiliar seat without making an investigation."

The authors remark in the foot-note that the "Tibetan tale is from Kah-gyur, book ii, pp. 198-201 We have here a simpler and at the same time more concrete recension of ch. xxxi of the Dsanglun " The older version of the story is to be found in Gāmanī Canda Jātaka (ii no. 257), where Prince Ādīsamukha (Ādarśamukha, Mirror-face) gives decisions.

E. *A Pāli-Buddhistic Jātaka (Gāmanī Caṇḍa)*

22. Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa, an old servant of the royal family, retired from the service and came to live in a village As he had no oxen for farming, he borrowed two oxen from a friend, and after the day's ploughing

brought them to the owner's house to retuurn them The oxen entered the house. Gāmaṇī saw that he and his friend were eating, but as they did not invite him, he went away without formally making over his charge. During night the oxen were stolen. The man wanted to make Gāmanī responsible Gāmanī was now being led away to the king's court for judgment. *23* On the way he entered the house of a friend to get some food The friend was absent. His wife asked him to wait till she prepared food for him As she climbed the ladder to the grainstore in haste, she missed her footing and fell down She was seven months with child—a miscarriage followed.

24 On their way to the court they saw a horse at the village gate running away The groom who could not stop it cried out, "Uncle Caṇḍa-Gāmanī, hit the horse with something and lead him back" Gāmanī hit the horse with a stone he picked up The stone broke the horse's leg He was charged with tort He was now three men's prisoner.

25 Gāmaṇī thought that there was no escape for him and wanted to commit suicide by falling from the precipice of a hill in the wood hard by the road. He threw himself down from the precipice but fell on the elder of the two basket-makers underneath and killed him on the spot He was forthwith charged by the other with murder.

The king Mirror-face decided thus

22 "Now, Caṇḍa, you failed to return the oxen, and therefore you are his debtor for them But this man, in saying that he has not seen them, told a direct lie Therefore you with your own hands shall pluck his eyes out, and you shall yourself pay him twentyfour pieces of money as the price of the oxen."

23 The Prince asked Canda to live with the woman till she had another child

24 "This man told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to hold back the horse You may tear out his tongue and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price which I will give you."

25 "Caṇda, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead Then take his mother to your house and do you be a father to him"

[*21* On his way to the court Canda was charged with commission from some animals and a young man to explain why certain strange things happened. This episode was borrowed by the *T T*]

F. A Jain Tale from the Nandīsūtra

Gone ghoḍagapadaṇaṃ ca rukkhāo

26 A certain unlucky man found that whatever he did, turned out to his disadvantage invariably. Now on one occasion he begged of his friend the loan of a pair of bullocks, and with them he ploughed (his land), one day in the afternoon he brought them back and left them in the enclosure (*vāṭaka*). His friend (too) was engaged in eating, therefore he did not go near him, the friend saw the bullocks with his eyes Taking for granted that his friend had seen the bullocks he went home, the bullocks, however, issuing out of the enclosure strayed elsewhere and were stolen by thieves Then the owner of the bullocks asked that unlucky wretch for (the restoration of) the bullocks but he was unable to give them back. Then he was led away to the court 27 While he was on the road, a certain man mounted on a horse was coming towards him He was thrown down by the horse, who started fleeing The owner called out, "Strike him with a stick " The unlucky man struck the horse but in a vital part, thereby causing his death This man also arrested him. 28 When they came to the town, they found that the court had already risen. Therefore they encamped outside the city. There many men belonging to the Naṭa tribe were staying, all asleep The unlucky man thought that there was no escape for him from that ocean of danger and wanted to commit suicide by tying a noose round his neck and hanging from the tree But the piece of cloth which he made into a noose round his neck was of worn-out strands, and therefore being extremely weak, broke Now he fell upon the old chief (*mahattara*) of the Natas, who was sleeping underneath, his whole weight having descended upon his neck he killed him forthwith So the Natas also seized him and all went to court the following morning They related their respective cases The Kumārāmātya asked the wretch about the incidents. With a pitiful countenance he admitted the truth of all Then the Kumārāmātya took compassion on him and gave the following verdict 26 This man will give you the two bullocks, but he will pluck out your eyes, this man became debtless the very moment that you saw with your eyes the two bullocks; had you not seen them with your eyes then he would not return home, for never does he who has come for making over any thing to any body return home by leaving behind the thing (to be made over) without having reported the matter (i.e. made it known) to him." Then he summoned the

second complainant, the owner of the horse and said to him. "27. This man will give you the horse, but he will cut out your tongue, for it is your tongue which said, 'Strike the horse with stick,' it is only then that he struck the horse, otherwise he would not have done it" Then he told the Naṭas. "28. This man has got nothing with him that I may cause him to give you. But this much I am doing this man will stand underneath, let some chief of yours tie himself to the tree by means of a noose round the neck as he did, and let himself fall upon him." Then all released him The *vainayikī buddhi* of the Kumārāmātya.

The Indian tales are undoubtedly the originals of those which had spread to Tibet, Syria, Russia and other parts of Europe. Within India there may be a difference of opinion as to the relative antiquity of Jain tales on the one hand and Pāli-Buddhistic on the other Hertel claims anteriority for the Jain tales[2] and quotes a passage from the *Mattavilāsaprahasana*[3] attributing piracy to the Buddhists Let us leave aside for the present the settlement of this dispute and be satisfied that they are both Indian As Buddhism spread to Tibet, tales connected with Buddhism were naturally imported into Tibet In the Preface to Schiefner and Ralston's *Tibetan Tales* Mrs. Rhys Davids had indicated the following originals—16 from Pāli Jātakas, 5 from commentaries (Vinaya, Mhv. and Commentary, commentary on Dhammapada, Aṅguttara, Therīgāthā), 4 from Pañcatantra (including one from Hitopadeśa) and 1 from Mahābhārata, leaving the remaining 24 blank and hoping that the gaps might well be further reduced by an expert Sanskritist" Tale no. 5 "*Sudhana Avadāna*" is apparently derived from the *Divyāvadāna*, many variants of which I have discussed in a *Mikir Tale of the Swan Maiden Type and its Parallels* in the *Proceedings* of the Fourth Oriental Conference

Now it is quite imaginable that the Buddha and his monks related homely stories for the edification of their hearers, some of them may not have been incorporated in the Pāli texts and commentaries as we have them in available editions, but might have been nevertheless preserved in Sanskrit -Buddhistic texts whose number was very great. The translation work into

2 Johannes Hertel—*On the Literature of the Śvetāmbars of Gujrat* (Leipzig, 1922) pp 1-2.

3 Ed by T Ganapati Sastri, p 15 Śākyabhikṣu—namo Buddhāya Kāpālikānamah Kharapatāyeti vaktavyam, yena Coraśāstram pranitam Athavā Kharapatādapy asminn adhikāre Buddha evādhikah

Tibetan began during the reign of Sroṅ. btsan. sgam. po and was continued till the end of the 17th century A.D. Thousands of Sanskrit works not only connected with Buddhism but also secular were made available in Tibetan. The translations were literal and faithful, giving in Tibetan word-for-word Sanskrit equivalent In them may be found the originals of those not identified by Mrs Rhys Davids. Then again some tale which was current in India but which being unmoral or immoral was subsequently rejected by Buddhist Canonical editors was yet preserved in some secular (or even religious) Sanskrit work and was transported to Tibet, e.g. the tale of "the Clever Thief" in the *Tibetan Tales* I have already indicated in my paper *The Story of a Fool and its Sanskrit and Buddhist Parallels*[1] the parallels of 46 stories of fools taken from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in *Po-yu-king* of *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* (being translation from Chinese Tripiṭakas by Dr. E. Chavannes) and *Les Avadanas* translated by Stanislas Julien. These stories do not seem to be found in Pāli edition yet they exist in Chinese version A portion of a tale that I find in the Jaina Nandī-sūtra is absent in the Pāli version (Mahā-Ummaga Jāt no. 546, also 402) viz. the incident of feeding a sheep without letting it wax fat, and is yet present in the latter's derivative—the Tibetan tale no. VIII, *Mahausadha and Visākha*, (*Kah-gyur*, vol. xi), it is also present in *Les Avadanas* translated by Julien.

I am giving below the summary of the above in a tabular form indicating the incidents by number already used·

1. Incidents of the story. 2. Jain-Nandī-sūtra (Goneghoḍaya). 3. Pāli Jātaka (Gāmaṇī-Caṇḍa). 4. Kathāsaritsāgara (Devabhūti). 5 Tibetan Tale no. 3 (Ādarśamukha). 6. Russian Tale, &c

See annexed Table

(*To be continued*)

KALIPADA MITRA

The Stray Plate from Tirlingi: [Gaṅga?] Year 28

Tirlingi is a small hamlet in the Ganjam district of Madras and is situated close to the headquarters of the Tekkali *zemindari* in the same district. Some time in the year 1926 a woman residing in the village came upon a single inscribed sheet of copper by the side of an old well Mr. Lingaraja Misra of Parasuramapuram secured the plate from her and passed the same on to my friend Pandit Satyanarayana Rajaguru of Parlakimedi who announced its discovery in a short illustrated paper.[1] The plate has since been acquired by the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

I re-edit the record from a set of ink-impressions very kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. Rajaguru

The inscription, which is incomplete, is engraved on a single sheet of copper with plain edges The plate measures 4½″ × 2″ and the weight is six tolas Towards the proper left margin of the plate there is a ring-hole of about ¼″ in diameter There is no ring or seal The first (obverse) side of the plate shows some signs of deterioration in the opening lines, otherwise the record is in a state of perfect preservation There are seven lines of writing in all, of which five appear on the first side and two on the other.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and generally resemble those of the Narasingapalli[2] (Year 79) and Urlam[3] (Year 80) Plates of Hastivarman, and the Godavari Plates of Pṛthivīmūla.[4]

There is nothing remarkable about the palaeography or orthography of the record.

The language is Sanskrit There are two of the customary closing verses in Anuṣṭubh metre, the rest of the inscription is in prose.

The inscription, which is incomplete being the last plate of a set, records apparently the gift of some village or land. Both the donor and the donee must however remain unknown personalities until the rest of the inscription is found

1 *JAHRS*, III. 54 ff and plates

2 *EI*, XXIII 62 ff and plates.

3 *Ibid*, XVII 330 ff. and plates.

4 *JBBRAS*, XVI 114 ff and plates.

The date, which is given in words only, is the Kṛṣṇāṣṭamī of the month of Phālguna of the Year 28 of 'the increasing régime' (*pravardhamāna-rājya-samvatsarasya*)

The writer as well as the engraver was Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra.

Mr Rajaguru came in for some criticism and perhaps more injustice when he announced that the Tirlingi inscription was dated in the Year 28 (of the Gaṅga era) The illustrations of the plate now provided will substantiate Mr Rajaguru's reading beyond any question

The problem now at issue is to find an approximate date for the grant. Here, once for all, we have to depend entirely on such evidence as can be extracted from the fragmentary record itself A fundamental fact which must be recognised at the outset is that the script clearly suggests association with the early Ganga kings of Kaliṅga The style of the document is also very characteristic On top of all this, we have the ubiquitous personality of Vinayacandra, son of Bhānucandra,—a remarkable figure in Indian epigraphy. The known quota of service put in by this apparently very able scribe works out already at twelve years (Ganga Years 79-91) And if we were again to associate him with the present record, Vinayacandra would have had a service of at least 63 years in the Ganga Court—a position which has rightly elicited[5] some scepticism. On the other hand, this position hardly improves if the Tirlingi Vinayacandra is taken to be the grandfather of the later and more famous Vinayacandra, or even if we were to think of a different reckoning of the era to which the year of the grant has to be referred.

Attempts to guess a donor for the grant have so far proved equally futile and the reading of the date now further widens the field of speculation Professor R Subba Rao thought[6] of Mitravarman of the Godavari Plates of Prthivīmūla Dr D R Bhandarkar, on the other hand, identified in effect[7] the unknown donor with Indravarman Rājasiṃha of the Achyutapuram,[8] Parlakimedi[9] and the Santa-Bommali[10] Plates and the late-lamented Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh shared[11] Dr. Bhandarkar's view.

5 *EI*, XXIII 63, f n 1 — 6 *JAHRS*, VI 71
7 *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p 285, f n 1
8 *EI*, III 127 f — 9 *IA*, XVI 131 ff
10 *EI*, XXV 194 ff — 11 *JBORS*, XX 44 ff

In spite however of its fragmentary character, our record seems to be a genuine one. Mr. G. Ramadas's attempt,[12] therefore, to make out a case for a possible fabrication rests on no foundation

In respect of the year mentioned, the Tirlingi inscription clearly antedates the Jirjingi Plates of Indravarman.[13] The evidence of palaeography generally points to somewhere between 450-525 A.D.

Text[14]

Obverse

1 m=para-dattām=vā (ttāṃ vā) yatnād=rakṣa Yudhisthirah (sthira) [|*] mahīṃ mahimatāṃ

2. śreṣṭha dānāc=chrayo(chreyo)=nupālanaṃ (nam) [||1*] Saṣṭim=varṣa-sahasrā-

3. ṇi svargge modati [bhūmidaḥ] [|*] ākṣeptā c=ānumantā

4. ca tāny=eva narake vased-iti[15] pravardhamāna-rājya samba(mva)-

5. tsarasya aṣṭāviṁśatimasya[16] Phālguna(na)-Krsnāstamyām

Reverse

6. likhitam=utkīrṇṇaṃ c=edaṃ Bhānucandra-sūnunā

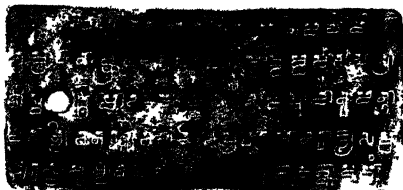
7. Vinayacandren=eti(||)

R. K GHOSHAL

12 *JAHRS*, III 82 f, *EI*, XXV 196, f n 5   13 *EI*, XXV, 281 ff

14 From ink-impressions   15 Read *vaset* [||2*] *iti*

16 Read °*vimśati*° Emendations so far suggested are *sitya-ashthaviti* (G Ramadas, *JAHRS*, III 82-3), *asthaśītas* =*asya* (D R Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 285, f n 1), and *astāśiti* (J C Ghosh, *JBORS*, XX 44-5) Incidentally, the form *astā-vimśatima* itself is not wholly ungrammatical as one would be inclined to believe Professor Buddhadeva Bhattacharya has very kindly drawn my attention to a verse occurring in the *Mārkandeya Candī* (xi 37, Cf *Śrī-śrī-Candī*, ed Panchanan Tarkaratna, Calcutta 1333 B S) which is a good instance in point *Vaivasvate'ntare prāpte astāvimśatime yuge*/ Nāgojī Bhatta as well as Gopāla Cakravartī, however, frankly confess the obsolete and irregular nature of such a construction which they claim to find only in Vedic grammar(*Chāndasah*) Gopāla, however, attempts a somewhat loose affiliation to current grammatical systems by deriving the word as *aṣṭāviṃśatim māti iti*

STRAY PLATE FROM TIRLINGI [GANGA?] YEAR 28

Obverse

Reverse

Sanskrit Poet Ghanaśyāma

Ghanaśyāma gives the date of his birth in the following verses:

लग्ने कीटे झषेष्वासन-दल-निचयौ भूज-केतू धनुर्ह-
यंशो काव्योऽथ नक्रे क्रिय-घट-कटकांशेषु सौम्येन-चन्द्राः ।
सौरिर्मेषे तुलांशे वृष-मिथुन-दले मैं हिकेयोऽथ जीवः
कौलीरे सिंहभागे द्युलि धनु-नवमांशे यदीयोऽवतारः ॥

According to the Indian Astrological calculations, the year of Ghanaśyāma's birth is 1700 A D In many places[2] Ghanaśyāma himself says that he was the minister of Tukkoji I of Tanjore Tukkoji ruled from 1729 to 1735. So it is evident that he became minister when he was 29 years old That he survived Tukkoji is expressly stated in the *Nīlakantha-campū-samjīvanī*[3] As he began to write books at a very early age, the extant record being a composition of his eighteenth year,[4] viz the Yuddha-kāṇḍa, his literary activities must have continued from 1715 to 1750.

Though he resided in Tanjore as minister, he was a native of Mahārāstra.[5]

His family

Ghanaśyāma was the son of Mahādeva and Kāśī.[6] His elder brother was Īśa[7] who appears to have assumed the name Cidambara Brahmacārin in

1 Verse 4, Introduction to the *Uttara-Rāma-carita-vyākhyā* of Ghanaśyāma

2 See *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-tippana*, Ms No 4309 of Serfoji Maharaja's Library, Introductory verses, *Bhārata-campū-samjīvanī*, v 5, etc

3 आयुः किं शरदां महस्रमथ कि दैवेन यद्दीयते

4 Introduction to *Rāmāyana-campū*, Yuddha-kānda, Ms 4143-45 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Sanskrit Mss Library

5 Colophon to the first act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*

6 The first two lines of the verse

यस्येशोऽग्रभवः पिता किल महादेवः स काशीप्रसूः
साधुः श्रेयसि सुन्दरी प्रियतमा शाकम्भरी च स्वसा

appear in all the books written by him in the early stage of his life The third and fourth lines of this verse are suitably altered in his works, e g Yuddha-kāṇḍa, Mss. 4143-45 of Tanjore Sanskrit Mss Library, *Madana-samjīvana*, Mss 4587-4588, *op cit*, etc

7 See the above footnote

his later life when he became an ascetic Ghanaśyāma[8] as well as Sundarī and Kamalā refer to him most respectfully in their works.[9] They had great admiration for his learning. Cidambara used to live, while an ascetic, at Devīpāśāna or Navapāṣāṇa in the temple of Mahiṣāsura-mardinī near Rāmeśvara[10] Śākambharī was his sister.

Sundarī was his first wife Only her name is mentioned in all the works until he married Kamalā or Kamalajā, e.g. in the Yuddha-kāṇḍa which he composed when he was only 18:—

तेनाष्टादशवत्सरेण कविना चौण्डाजिपन्तेन च
श्रीमानारचितश्चिराय जयतु श्रीयुद्धकाण्डो मुदा ।

and in the *Madana-samjīvana* as well as the *Kumāra-vijaya* that were composed when he was only twenty years of age —

सप्ताष्टोक्ति-लिपि-प्रभुर्गुणनिधिश्चौण्डाजि-बालाजि-सत्-
पौत्रो यो विभुरब्द-विंशति-मितश्चौण्डाजिपन्तः कविः ॥

So there is no doubt that Ghanaśyāma and Sundarī were married at a very young age As it is only likely that Sundarī was younger in age than Ghanaśyāma, she was born about 1705 A D

Kamalā's name appears in those works only in which Ghanaśyāma refers to himself as the minister of Tukkoji and also claims to have composed 53 or even more books, e g (1) *Bhārata-campū samjīvanī*, v 5, (2) Introduction to *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-tippana*, and (3) Colophon to Act I of *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*.

The *Candānurañjana* also notices the name of Kamalajā but the reading in the MS referring to the poet's age is hopelessly lost[11] As such Kamalā must have been married to Ghanaśyāma when he was 29 years old, if not earlier. As about two hundred years ago it was customary in India to give girls in marriage at an early age, the difference in age between Ghanaśyāma and Kamalā must have, however, been great The *Candānurañjana* is probably the earliest work of Ghanaśyāma in which the name of Kamalā is recorded

8 *Cidambariya* mentioned in p 18, l 19, probably refers to a particular work of Cidambara Paramhamsa See also p 47, l 17, महाराष्ट्र यश etc

9 P. 25, l. 10, see also f n 8

10 वन्दे ब्रह्मपरं, etc.

11 *Vide* Ms. No. 7400 of the India Office Library

Ghanaśyāma's fondness for both Sundarī and Kamalā is, however, manifest from his writings. They used to ask him about the nature of Sarasvatī :—

> केयं दीप्तिरथैष कः परिमलः किं शिजितं का मृदु
> ब्रूतेऽसाविति सुन्दरी-कमलयोः प्रश्नस्य या भाजनम् ।
> दीप्रा काऽपि तटिल्लतेव पुरतोऽपक्राय हस्या च या
> ब्रह्माणं जहती विभाति मयि सा वाग्देवता पातु वः ॥

(v. 3, Introduction to *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*).

Ghanaśyāma also pays a tribute to their talents in one of the introductory verses of the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala-samjīvanī* —

> प्रेयस्योर्मम सुन्दरी कमलयोः कण्ठद्वये शोभताम्, etc (v. 18).

Ghanaśyāma's father's father was Caunda Bālāji of the Bhārgava family and mother's father was Timmaji Bālāji of the Kaundinya Gotra.[12] Ghanaśyāma had two sons, Candraśekhara and Govardhana by name The former commented upon his father's work *Damaruka*[13] and the latter who was blind commented upon the *Ghatakarpara-kāvya*[14] If Govardhana, son of Ghanaśyāma be identical with the author of the *Vedānta-cintāmani*, then Ghanaśyāma as well as his family must be reckoned as great admirers of Vallabha Ācārya.[15] Govardhana also wrote a commentary called *Vedānta-cintāmani-prakāśa* on his *Vedānta-cintāmani*.[16]

Ghanaśyāma was a worshipper of the Pañcāyatana-devatā and pays homage to almost all the celebrated gods and goddesses He offers his prayers to Śiva in the first two verses of the *Damaruka* and the first verse of the *Nīlakantha-vijaya-campū*, to Durgā, in the fifth verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī* and in the second verse of the *Nīlakantha-vijaya-samjīvanī*, to Sarasvatī in the third verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*

12 *Candānurañjana* Ms No 7400 of the India Office Library —
यस्येशोऽग्रभवः पिता, etc
See also colophon to Act I of the *Prabodhacandrodaya-tīkā*

13 घनश्यामस्य सुमहाकवि शब्दजुषः, etc.
Mss 3793-3797 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Sanskrit Mss Library This commentary has not as yet been published

14 निज-जनक-घनश्यामं,

15 See *Notices*, Ms No 3016, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Benares Sanskrit College*, Allahabad 1888, Ms No 419

16 *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Private Libraries of North-West Frontier Province*, Part I, Benares, 1874, Ms. No. 278.

and the second verse of the *Dhātu-koṣa,* and to Gaṇeśa in the first verses of *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī* and the *Dhātu-koṣa* The supreme soul is eulogised in the first verse of the *Campū-Rāmāyana,* Cidambara in the first verse of the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā,* Kṛṣṇa in the second verse of the *Caṇḍānurañjana* and Keśava or Paraśiva in the first verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvana.* Odaneśa, Ghṛteśvara and Santānagopāla are offered homage in the 4th verse of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī,* and Gaṇeśa, Nārāyaṇa and Śiva in the first introductory verse of the commentary *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-vyākhyā* The implicit faith of the poet in the doings and outstanding powers of Nine Planets is the subject-matter of his work *Nava-graha-carita* and the first three verses form indeed an excellent *stuti* of the Nava-grahas. The Advaita-vāda, however, appears to have attracted him most. He says he is a Paṭhīna fish in the ambrosial ocean of the Advaita philosophy,[17] this is also clear from his undertaking the composition of two works on the same school of thought.[18]

Works of Ghanaśyāma

Ghanaśyāma claims to have composed works in various languages— Sanskrit, Prakrit as well as vernaculars Thus in his commentary on the *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū* he says he composed 64 works in Sanskrit, 20 in Prakrit and 25 in vernaculars. Fortunately, Ghanaśyāma himself refers to his works on many occasions and Sundarī and Kamalā too refer to many of them. Here is given a subject-index of the works which are thus known Unfortunately, the works are mostly lost to us and the subjects too are not specifically clear in every case The names of the works, the quotations from or references to them, etc., help us in determining the subjects and the approximate result thus obtained is exhibited below.

Dramas of various sorts·—

(1) Nāṭaka:

(a) *Nava-graha-carita,* consisting of three prapañcas. This drama deals with the legends relating to the nine grahas:

17 भगवत्पाद-प्रतिष्ठापिताद्वैत-सुधा colophon to the first Act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī*

18 See the list of his works below.

19 संस्कृते या चतुःषष्टिसंख्या, etc

20 Ms. No 4689 of Tanjore Mss. Library (not published as yet).

(a) *Trimaṭī*-nāṭakas.[21]

(b) *Kumāra-vijaya* in five Acts.[22]

(c) *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya*, for references, see *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya-dīpikā* below.[23]

(2) Saṭṭaka:

(a) *Vaikuṇṭha-carita*, with commentary.

(b) *Ānandasundarī-saṭṭaka*.[24] This work deals with the marriage of Ānandasundarī the heroine.

One Saṭṭaka without its name given.[25]

(3) Bhāṇa:

(a) One without a specific name given.[26]

(4) Prahasana.

(a) *Ḍamaruka*, with commentary.[27]

(b) *Caṇḍānurañjana*[28] This work records the names of the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*, *Sad-bhāsā-kāvya* and a few other works only.—

पट्षड्भाषा-काव्यं नाटक-भाणौ च सट्टकं चम्पूः ।
अन्यापदेश-शतकं रचितं येनाशु खेलेन ॥

It was as such probably one of the early works of Ghanaśyāma One Prahasana is also referred to without name[29]

(5) Dima (a) Name not mentioned.[30]

(6) Vyāyoga: (a) Name not mentioned.[31]

(7) Nāṭikā (a) *Anubhava-cintāmaṇi*.[32]

21 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*

22 Mss 4344-4345 of Tanjore Mss Library, India Office Ms No 4180

23 *Op cit.*

24 Ms. 4681 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss Library In this library, there is also a Ms. of a commentary on the same by Bhattanātha Svāmin, India Office Library, Ms No 7398.

25 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, v 6.

26 *Op. cit*, v. 5.

27 Madras Govt. Oriental Mss Library, Author-index, p 12

28 Ms No. 7400 of the India Office Library, Tanjore Mss Library, Ms. No. 4629.

29 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taraṅgiṇī*, v 8

30 *Op. cit.* 31 *Op cit*

32 *Op cit*, v 13.

B Poetical Compositions: —

(a) *Prākṛta-kāvya*[33]
(b) *Saṃskṛta-kāvya*.[33]
(c) *Āryā-bandha-kāvya*, a sama-Prākṛta-kāvya.[34]
Aṣṭapadī-padas, etc. in various languages.[35]
(d) *Bhāratī-vijaya-kāvya*, series of 18 acrostic poems.[36]
(e) *Prasaṅga-līlārṇava*[37]
(f) *San-maṇi-maṇḍana*

C Anthology:

(a) *Anyāpadeśa-sahasra*[38]
(b) *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*[39]
(c) *Śabda-rañjana*[40]

D Campū-kāvyas.

(a) *Rāmāyaṇa-campū* (only the Yuddha-kāṇḍa available)[41]
(b) *Bhāgavata-campū*, with commentary.[42]
(c) *Nala-campū*
(d) *Hariscandra-campū*
} with double entendre.[43]

E Grammatical works. —

(a) *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*.[44]
(b) *Prākṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*.[45]
(c) *Śābdika-modana*.[46]
(d) *Dhātu-koṣa*.[47]

F Rhetoric:

(a) *Rasārṇava*[48]

G Philosophy

(a) *Dvaita-bhañjana*[49]
(b) *Advaita bodha*[50]

H Sthala-māhātmyas

(a-e) Five, names not known.[51]

I Biography

(a) *Bhagavatpāda-carita*.[52]

33 काव्ये प्राकृत-संस्कृते । I v 7, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*

34 *Op cit*, v 11

35 See colophons to the commentaries of the *Prabodha-candrodaya*, etc, also *Camatkāra-taraṅginī*, Introduction, v 16

36 India Office, 1744, No 3962 Here Ghanaśyāma uses the appelatives Vaśyavacas, Sarvajña and Sarasvati

37 V 7, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*

38 Ms No 3889 of Tanjore Mss Library

39 *Op cit*, v 8

40 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*, v 8

41 Mss 4143-4145 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Sanskrit Mss Library

42 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*, v 11, p 5

43 *Op cit*, v 12

44 Hultzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit manuscripts in Southern India*, No III, Madras Govt Press, 1905, Ms No 1569 See also *Camatkāra-taranginī*, Introd v 6

45 *Camatkāra-taranginī*, v 6

46 *Op cit*, v 9

47 Ms No 5703 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Sanskrit Mss Library, *Not printed*

48 V 12, *Camatkāra-taranginī*, Introduction.

49 *Op cit*, v 9

50 *Op cit*, v 13

51 स्थल-माहात्म्य-पञ्चकम्, v 16, *op cit*

52 V. 12, Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī*

J Commentaries.

(1) On prose works.
- (a) *Daśa-kumāra-carita-ṭippaṇa*[53]
- (b) *Vāsavadattā-vyākhyā*[54]
- (c) *Kādambarī-vyākhyā*[55]

(2) On poetical works
- (a) *Gāthā-sapta-śatī-vyākhyā*[56]
- (b) *Rākṣasa-paddhati vyākhyā.*[57]
- (c-f) Commentaries on the *Prākṛta-kāvya, Saṃskṛta-kāvya, Prasaṅga-līlārṇava* and *Sanmani-maṇḍana.*[58]

(3) On Dramas
- (a) *Viddha-śālabhañjikā-vyākhyā Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā.*
- (b) *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā.*[59]
- (c) *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjīvana*[60]
- (d) *Uttara-Rāma-carita-saṃjīvana*[61]
- (e) *Vikramorvaśīya-vyākhyā.*[62]
- (f) *Veṇī-saṃhāra-vyākhyāna.*[63]
- (g) *Mahāvīra-carita-vyākhyā.*[64]
- (h) *Caṇḍa-kauśika-vyākhyā*[65]
- (i) *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya-dīpikā,*[66] commentary of *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya*[67]

Ghanaśyāma himself refers to this work in the following verse —

प्रबोध-चन्द्रोदय-सेर्ष-जात-सङ्कल्प-सूर्योदय-शोण-दृष्टेः ।
प्रचण्ड-राहूदय-कर्तुरेष वाभात्यहो श्मश्रुणि यस्य हस्तः ॥

The original is not extant but a commentary of it is still preserved in Tanjore Manuscripts Library (No 4388) It is complete and extends over two sheets only, with 17 lines to a page The colophon to the Ms shows that the work consisted of 5 acts only

(4) On Campūs·
- (a) *Bhoja-campū-vyākhyā*[68]
- (b) *Bhārata-campū-vyākhyā*[69]
- (c) *Nīlakantha-vijaya-campū-vyākhyā*[70]
- (d) *Bhāgavata-campū-vyākhyā*[71]

53 Mss 4006-4007 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss Library.

54 *Camatkāra-taranginī,* Introd, v 16

55 *Op cit*

56 *Op cit*, v 15

57 *Op cit*

58 एषां व्याख्या etc v 8, Introd, to *Camatkāra-taranginī*

59 Mss 4407-4408 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss Library

60 Mss 4309-4311 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Mss Library

61 Mss 4333-4334 of Tanjore Library Also Madras Govt Oriental Mss. Library Author-index, p 12, see also Hulzsch's *Report* vol III

62-65 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī,* vv. 14-15

66-67 See introduction to the commentaries by Ghanaśyāma mentioned here

68-69 *Op cit*, v 14, also quoted in the *Camatkāra-taranginī*

70 Ms 4059 of Tanjore Maharaj Serfoji's Mss Library

71 Introduction to *Camatkāra-taranginī* v 11

K Miscellaneous:

(a) *Gaṇeśa-carita.*
(b) *Kali-dūṣaṇa.*
(c) *Jātisantarjana*
(d) *Varṇa-mālā*
(e) *Ambā-vijaya.*
(f) *Doṣākara.*
(g) *Kukavi-santāpana.*
(h) *Guṇākara.*
(i) *Abodhākara* [72]

The *Kali-dūṣana* really forms the second Act of the *Ḍamaruka Prahasana* of our poet; the *Kukavi-santāpana* the fourth, the *Abodhākara* the fifth and the *Jāti-santarjana* the eighth. Sundarī and Kamalā, however, in their introductory verses in the commentary on the *Viddha-śālabhañjikā* treat these as separate works These sections really hang very loosely in the work and it appears as though they were also separately treated

At page 904 of the India Office Library Catalogue, I put under the name of Ghanaśyāma Bhatta *Madhurāṣṭaka-vivṛti-tippanī* as well. Though Ghanaśyāma was eminently an adherent of the Advaita school as his works on philosophy mentioned above show and as is also clear from his own statement "भगवत्पाद-प्रतिष्ठापिताद्वैत-सुधा-समुद्राटन-महापाठीनेन" in the colophon to the first Act of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*, it is not unlikely that he got interested in the Śuddhādvaita school as well. Ghanaśyāma's *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* and consequently, the *Bhāgavata-purāna*—can also reasonably be ascribed to him Unfortunately, neither the vivrti-tippaṇī nor the Bhāgavata is at present accessible to me and therefore, no further investigation about the genuineness of the ascriptions is possible at the moment. But the authorship of the other works mentioned above is undisputable

Apart from composing all the above-mentioned works, our poet also took delight in composing many short poems, 4 thousand songs and various other literary works [73] It is clear that he did not waste a single moment of his life, the literary output he has left behind him is indeed enormous. The major portion of it is lost, and the remnant, too, is not generally known as nothing but the *Damaruka* and the *Uttara-Rāma-carita-vyākhyā* have as yet been published

Ghanaśyāma as a writer.

That Ghanaśyāma was a precocious person cannot be doubted. His earliest extant work is the *Dhātu-koṣa* [74] In verse No. 8 of its introduction,

72 *Camatkāra-taranginī*, introduction

73 Colophon to Act I of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-samjīvanī*

74 Ms. No. 5703 of Tanjore Mss. Library.

he pleads for the pardon of the learned on the score of his being a young student, still a kiśoraka.[75] Though even at this stage he does not fight shy to criticise an author of the standing of Amarasiṃha,[76] still he recognises here the authority of several scholars and his indebtedness to them[77] and in the judgment of the reading public.[78] While still a 'Bālaka,' a mere boy,—as he more specially says in the concluding part of the same work, really at the age of eighteen[80]—he composed the *Rāmāyana-campū*. He composed the Bhāṇa *Madana-saṃjīvana* when he was twenty [81] The reading अर्ध-विंशति in the Ms. of the *Madana-saṃjīvana*, No. 1679 of Hulzsch's *Report*, is evidently wrong, it is really अब्दविंशति as the Tanjore Ms. shows. In the *Madana samjīvana* itself, the poet refers to his previous work composed at the age of eighteen.[82] The poet also composed the *Kumāra-vijayanātaka* dealing with the story of God Subrahmanya in the same year.[83] The poet himself announced that the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka*, only a defective copy of which is extant to-day and is preserved in Tanjore Serfoji Maharaj's Mss Library, is his fourth book [84] The *Damaruka* was his eighth book[85] composed at the age of 22. A Ms of it is preserved in Madras Govt. Mss Library[87] and a commentary on it by the son of the poet exists in

75 तेषां ता कलिका एव, etc

76 Introductory verses 10 and 11 of the *Dhatu-kośa*, see also verse 13

77 Introd v 19 of the *Dhātu-kośa*- प्राचां प्राश्वि etc See also verses 6, 7 and 8a

78 Verse 129

79 Ms No 1981, Hulzsch's *Report*, vol III—Introductory part of *Rāmāyana-campū*,—

चौराडाबालाजिपौत्रो यतिवर-दयया बालकोऽपि प्रधीरः।

80 Ms No 4143-45 of Tanjore, तेनाष्टादश-वत्सरेण कविना,

81 Hulzsch's *Report*, Mss 1682 and 1679—...०रर्धविंशतिमितश्चौराडाजिपंतः कविः

82 Hulzsch's *Report*, vol III, Ms No 1681, Tanjore Library, Mss 4587-4588 —

किं युद्धकाराड-नाम्न श्चम्पू-काव्यस्य प्रणेता घनश्यामकविः ॥ etc

83 Ms 4344 of Tanjore— पौत्रोऽयं विभुरब्दविंशति-मितः चौराडाजिपन्तः कविः।
The work is also called ब्रह्मानन्द-विजयः ; see the concluding verse

84 Ms No 3889, 'आख्यात-प्रतिवस्तु-पद्ययुगला सेयं चतुर्ग्रन्थवतः'।

85 Concluding verse of the *Ḍamaruka* जीयाच्च......महाकविरसावष्ट-प्रबन्धीश्वरः ॥

86 One of the Prastāvanā verses of the *Damaruka*.

......द्वयवादि पञ्च-मिहिरो द्वाविंश-वर्षान्वितः।

87 Ms. No. D 12519 The work is complete in 10 Alaṃkāras, viz.

Tanjore Mss. Library.[88] In his tenth book, the *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*,[89] Ghanaśyāma gives the names of his previous works *Saṇmaṇi-maṇḍana* and its bhāṣya, one Nāṭaka *Kumāra-vijaya* and one bhāṇa *Madana-saṃjīvana*, one Saṭṭaka *Ānandasundarī* and the Prahasana *Ḍamaruka* where also the same works are mentioned.[90] In his eighth work *Ḍamaruka* he identifies himself with Sarasvatī[91] and in the tenth the *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*, he speaks of his title Kaṇṭhīrava for the first time [92] He also gives his name as Āryaka in the *Ḍamaruka* [93] The *Navagraha-carita* was his eleventh book and was composed when he was still 22 [94] As the *Damaruka*, his 8th book, was composed in his 22nd year and the *Navagrahacarita* too at that time, the ninth work which cannot be ascertained at present as well as the tenth, viz the *Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā-mañjarī*, must have been composed in the same year The *Candānurañjana* Prahasana was composed at an early part of his life as Ghanaśyāma mentions here only the *Sadbhāṣā-kāvya*, one Nāṭaka one Bhāṇa, one Saṭṭaka one Campū, and the *Anyāpadeśa-śataka* The Ānandasundarī Saṭṭaka, Mss of which are preserved in the Tanjore Mss Library[96] as well as the India office Library[97] must also be an early composition of the author as it is against his nature to remain silent about earlier works Of the extant commentaries of Ghanaśyāma on dramas, the earliest is the *Bhārata-campū-saṃjīvanī*, it being the 53rd work of the author. In v 13 and in the colophon to Act I of the *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā*, he boasts as being the author of 53 works and therefore the next commentary by him must have been the *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* It was composed

राजानुरञ्जन, कलिदूषण, सुकवि-सञ्जीवन, कुकवि-सन्तापन, अबोधाकर, शाब्दिक-भञ्जन, पण्डित-खण्डन, जाति-संतर्जन, प्रभु-वर्णन and अखण्डानन्द ।

88 See Tanjore Catalogue, Nāṭaka volume

89 षड्-षड्-भाषा-काव्यं नाटकभाणौ च सट्टकं चम्पूः ।
अन्यापदेश-शतकं प्रहसनमपि येन लीलया प्रथितम् ॥

90 Ms No 1569, Hulzsch's *Reports on Sanskrit Mss in Southern India*, No III, Madras, Govt Press, 1905, concluding verse, last line.

चिरं जयतु सत्कविर्भुवि दशप्रबन्धीकरः ॥

91 सरस्वती घनश्यामो, etc. 92 कण्ठीरव-घनश्याम कविना, etc

93 Colophon सुरनीरपण्डित-घनश्याम-नामक आर्यको, etc

94 End of the work —नवग्रहा भूरि नमो वः etc.

95 Ms. No. 4629 of Tanjore Mss Library

96 Ms No 4681 of Tanjore Library 97 Ms. No 7398

when Ghanaśyāma was above 50. The *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* has been referred to in his other commentaries and is, therefore, one of the earliest commentaries composed by him. The *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjīvana* is expressly stated to be his 63rd work. The *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* of Ghanaśyāma refers to the *Śakuntala-saṃjīvanī* and other commentaries and also to the author's *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya-dīpikā* The *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvanī* is his 64th work. As Ghanaśyāma addresses his *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* as the daughter of the author of 64 works, it is evident that Ghanaśyāma undertook the execution of this commentary immediately after the composition of the *Prabodha-candrodaya-saṃjīvana* The *Nīlakaṇṭha-campū-vyākhyā* was composed when Ghanaśyāma's patron Tukkoji was no longer living. This appears to be one of his latest work if not the very last one Here, too, he does not forget to vindicate his antagonists whenever he can, though he necessarily sighs for his great patron

From the above survey, it is clear that Ghanaśyāma devoted the early part of his life to making original compositions whereas he dedicated the later part of his life to commenting upon various dramas and kāvyas. Though Ghanaśyāma usually writes in a very heavy style as is evident from the introductory verses of the *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā*, *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-saṃjīvana*, *Uttara-rāma carita-ṭīkā*, etc. the double entendres, alliterations etc. in his verses are not devoid of interests Some of his verses are indeed very attractive

Ghanaśyāma proves annoying for two reasons, viz (1) lack of chronological sense and (2) extreme self-conceit. It is curious how he could drag down Kālidāsa from the Gupta period to the fourteenth century A.D. and make him a contemporary of Māyana and his son Sāyana In the *Abhijñāna-śakuntala-vyākhyā*, Ms No 4309 of Tanjore Mss. Library, he says —

अथ सायण-मायणादि-पुरातन-कवि-समान-कालिको भाग्य-निमित्त-वशात् कामुकराज-कन्योपदेशेन श्यामला-देवी-लिखित-बीजाक्षर-रसज्ञः कालिदासकविः......मङ्गलमाचरति ।

Again, Ghanaśyāma makes Bhavabhūti a contemporary of Kālidāsa and a protégé of Bhojarāja.[98]

98 अथ कालिदासादि-समानकालिको भोजराजाश्रयः श्रीकण्ठ-नामा 'साम्बा पुनातु भवभूति-पवित्र-मूर्तिः' इति श्लोकनिर्माणवेलागुण-वशादानन्द-भरितेन राज्ञैव भवभूतिरिति स्थापितः कविः । *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā* M, No 4333-4334 of Tanjore Serfoji Maharaja's Mss. Library. See also Ms. of *Daśa-kumāra-carita-ṭippana*, No 4006 of

Ghanaśyāma was conceited enough even in his early teens when he did not fail to criticise an outstanding authority like Amarasiṃha in his *Dhātu-koṣa* as we have noticed before. In the *Navagraha-carita* composed at the age of twenty-two, he says he would compose something that others cannot and that would simply be wonderful:—

यदन्य-कवि-दुर्लभं यदपि संविधानोद्भवं
कुतूहलकरं जगत्यनुभवैक-वेद्यं च यत् ।
तदस्मदतिविस्मयावहमनेक-वस्तूज्ज्वलं
नवं किमपि चिन्त्यतामिति नव-ग्रहाणां मनः ॥

In the *Caṇḍānurañjana*,[99] he boasts that the composition of the *Sad-bhāṣā kāvya, Anyāpadeśa-śataka*, etc. were nothing but a sport to him.—

पट्टु षड्भाषाकाव्यं नाटक-भाणौ च सट्टकं चम्पूः ।
अन्यापदेश-शतकं रचितं येनाशु खेलेन ॥

and his poetical excellence could not but please all —

कलशाम्भोधि-कल्लोल-गर्व-सर्वस्व-हारिणी । घनश्यामकवेर्वाणी कस्य नानन्ददायिनी ॥

He could not but think that others would capitalise the vast store of his vocabulary and prayed to Durgā for helping him in getting rid of them even by means of their total destruction. In an almost identical language with that of Bhavabhūti, he declared outright that he was conscious that there were only few who could understand him, if at all, his compositions were ambrosial seas that could hardly be drunk dry. Even Kālidāsa himself was no match for him—unfortuante Kālidāsa who had to his credit only ten works[100] Only Raṅgarājādhvarin Mahopādhyāya, Bhoja and others could realise that he and Sarasvatī were not different, they were simply identical. Even the great Veṅkaṭanātha Vedāntācārya, author of the *Saṃkalpa-sūryodaya* and many other notable works, was no match for him.[101] He had no respect for the commentaries of anybody else than only two, viz. Mallinātha and Appaya Dīkṣita; others were simply incompetent and managed to keep silent whenever any diffiulty arose.[102] The

Tanjore Mss Library·—अथ भोजराज-सभायां कालिदासभवभूति-प्रमुखवदखिलमाननीयो बाण इव कादम्बरी-संज्ञां दशकुमार-चरिताख्यां प्रहेलिकां रचयिष्यन्, etc

99 Ms No. 7400 of the India Office Library

100 *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*, v. 8.

101 Mss. 4407-4408 of Tanjore Mss. Library, *Prabodha-candrodaya-vyākhyā*, introductory verses 12 & 13:

102 *Bhārata-campū-vyākhyā* - सन्त्यज्याप्पयदीक्षितं etc

way in which he lets the audience know his name Caṇḍāji and epithets Sarvajña Kavi and Kaṇṭhīrave is very queer and necessarily means bad taste.[103] He mentions his titles Sarvajña, Vaśyavacas and Sarasvatī in the colophon to each Act of the dramas he comments upon[104] and also in his *Bhāratī-camatkāra-kāvya*[105] He does not miss the opportunity to play a fun upon his name Ghanaśyāma for eulogising self.[106]

One seldom comes across a commentator like Ghanaśyāma who has nothing but contempt for the authors of works he comments upon. He looks down upon Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti, Rājaśekhara, Krsna Miśra, etc. as they were the authors of a few works only.[107] He thinks he does them a great favour by commenting upon their works, the credit of making them immortal is due to him.

His vanity is, thus, really responsible for wrong criticisms in many places in his commentaries The grammatical accuracies which he questions at times are not really questionable

He makes also irresponsible or wrong statements at times He makes a positive mistake when he says that Rājaśekhara wrote only three works, because Rājaśekhara himself says in his *Bālarāmāyana*[108] that he had already composed 6 works Not less than 5 works are known to exist even to-day, viz the *Karpūra-mañjarī*, the *Pracanda-pāndava*, the *Bāla-bhārata*, the *Bāla-rāmāyana*, the *Viddha-śālabhañjikā*, and the *Kāvya-mīmāmsā* Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* refers to another work of Rājaśekhara, viz , the *Hara-vilāsa*

Ghanaśyāma expresses pride by stating that he was capable of composing commentaries within a few hours even when he was fasting. Thus he says, he began as well as completed the *Prāna-pratiṣṭhā* during the

103 सूचकः—प्रिये सर्वज्ञ-कविना ? etc.

104 E g वश्यवचः-सर्वज्ञ-सरस्वती-नामत्रय-मण्डितेन घनश्याम-पण्डितेन......प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

105 India Office Ms No 3962

106 तनुरुचि यो न श्यामः कविः etc

107 E.g. as Krsna Miśra is known to have been the author of a single work, he says in his commentary on the *Prabodha-candrodaya* —

एकग्रन्थकरस्य हन्त भणितिं मिश्रस्य स व्याकरो-
त्यार्योक्तीरवतंसयन् भुवि घनश्यामः कवीनां कविः ॥

108 V. 12, प्रस्तावना—'विद्धि नः षट् प्रबन्धान्'

fourth prahara of the Śivarātri;[109] he completed the *Śakuntala-saṃjīvana* while keeping awake during the Bhīṣmaikādaśī night.

He was again very proud of his knowledge of languages. About Rājaśekhara, he has a very poor opinion, Rājaśekhara knew only Sanskrit and Prakrit whereas he knows all the languages

All these obnoxious statements are bound to elicit resentful statements as those of Vāñceśvara Sudhī *alias* Kuṭṭi Kavi in his *Mahiṣa-śataka,*[110] p 21 of J. Vidyāsāgara's ed. —

नानाजि-प्रभु-शाहजीन्द्र-शरभेन्द्रानन्दरायादयो
विद्वांसः प्रभवो गताः श्रित-सुधीसन्दोहजीवातवः ।
विद्यायां विषबुद्धयो हि वृषलाः सभ्यास्त्विदानींतनाः
किं कुर्वेऽम्ब कृषे व्रजामि शरणं त्वामेव विश्वावनीम् ॥

This verse at once shows that Vāñceśvara was a junior contemporary of Ānandarāya Makhin and others, of whom he was an ardent admirer, he was a senior contemporary of Ghanaśyāma whom he appears to rebuke by the epithet Vrsala in the above.

Ghanaśyāma as the author of the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā

The *Prāṇapratiṣṭhā* of Ghanaśyāma is a short commentary on the *Viddha-śālabhañjika*. It takes into account only a few words and ignores the rest as he professes to do in the introductory verse no 14. Usually he gives the Sanskrit rendering of all the Prakrit passages and verses and comments upon a few Prakrit words as well The variant readings that he interprets add much to his credit as a commentator The sūtras of Prakrit grammar quoted in the *Prāna pratiṣṭhā* are mostly traced in the *Prākrta-prakāśa.*

109 शिवरात्रि-चतुर्थ-यामारब्ध, *bhañjikā* with the commentary *Prāna-pratiṣṭhā.*

110 Vāñceśvara himself composed in Benares a commentary on his *Mahiṣa-śataka*, also called *Śleṣārtha-candrikā*, consisting of 102 verses The Ms is dated 1735 Śaka i e 1813-14 A D ·—

बाणाग्न्यद्रीन्दु-प्रमिते शाक-काले सुधीमुदे ।
भूयाद्वाञ्छेश्वर-कृता व्याख्या श्लेषार्थ-चन्द्रिका ॥

He also pays tribute in his commentary to his Gurus Viśveśa Śrinivāsa Ārya as well as Ahobala.

Sometimes he cleverly justifies the uses of Rājaśekhara, e.g. the singular number in हशा in verse 2, act 1,[111] the stage direction ततः प्रविशति हरदासः immediately after the प्रस्तावना ;[112] metrical use of महरहि[113] ; एच्चावी अडु[114] a deśī word, शस in the particular context in v 43, p. 73;[115] जामादुअस्स for जामाअरस्स[116] ; वारंवारेण[117] पिएड in primary sense,[118] sandhi in ततस्थाणु ;[119] use of the plural number for singular in वयंतस्यलजो[120] etc. But very often he ridicules Rājaśekhara for his lack of knowledge, e.g. he declares uses like प्रातस्त्य in l. 3, v. 12, p. 12, अक्खरावली in l. 2. p. 68, etc. as absolutely wrong.

In the *Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā,* he refers to his Kumāravijaya, *Pracaṇḍa-rāhūdaya, Veṅkateśa-carita,* the commentaries of dramas and other works like the *Cidambarīya*[121] In several places in the commentary he points out that Rājaśekhara used occasionally Sanskritized Marathi phrases and proverbs.[122]

Ghanaśyāma's genius was defiled by his excessive self-conceit. His verses are at times horrible In his early work, he had a decent style, but the older he grew, the more pedantic his style turned out to be. His commentaries deserve praise, but his criticisms are at times meaningless or simply exhibit his pride His ways of referring to great poets like Kālidāsa by such obscure names as Īśvarakrsna or Bhartrmīdha are puzzling. But it may be said to his credit that he has a style of his own in his commentaries, one who has thoroughly studied one of his commentaries would at once recognise his other commentaries The authorities quoted are mostly the same, and the tendency to look down upon or criticise even the greatest poets is ludicrously manifest throughout. His great learning is displayed in all the commentaries, particularly through numerous quotations. He richly deserves the epithet Kosāvalīvallabha which he applies to himself in verse 5 of the Introduction to the *Uttara-rāma-carita-ṭīkā.* His explanations of the variant readings are copious and interesting too.

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111 p 12
112 p 18
113 p 46, ll 18-20
114 l p 69
115 l 5
116 l 7, p 84
117 v t p 95
118 l 4, v 22, p 112
119 l 23, p 150
120 l. 13, p 162
121 See p 18
122 E.g. एवं वर्णयता कविना स्वस्य महाराष्ट्रत्वं प्रकटीकृतम्, etc , p 138, l 18.

Provincial Government under the Memeluke Sultans of Delhi

The Ghuride conquest of Northern India can hardly be described as complete or the outcome of a definite military plan, conceived and executed by one single mind within a specified time It was the work rather of adventurers of the Turkish race, set in motion by the shifting of population in Central Asia, consequent upon, and which therefore presaged, the eruption of the Mongols from the uplands of Tartary. In its absence of programme and design the 13th century Turkish conquest can well be compared with the British expansion in the 18th century The process continued for generations and the government that was established in Delhi reflected, in the looseness of its structure and improvisations, the continuity of military action. Not till a new dynasty was established in the person of the Khaljis did these experiments crystallise into a system and a centralised state come into being.

Implicit in the circumstances of its existence was therefore the peculiar nature of the provincial administration which functioned during the first century of the conquest It had to be in the main military and largely autonomous It was to the single-handed initiative and resources of men like Bakhtiyar that the Turkish state owed its territorial expansion and also its preservation from the by no means passive Hindu powers For a state like that of Delhi, limited as its man-power was, the setting up of a uniform civil administration in all parts of its dominions was out of the question Familiarity with the details and problems of day-to-day administration could not be expected of the newly arrived Turks, even were such patient administrators available in their ranks and could be spared from the military work Retention of the existing governmental machinery in the form of vassal states and the employment of non-Muslims for such essential civil work as the assessment and collection of the land revenue in villages directly within the military area, was thus unavoidable Direct annexation of conquered territories was avoided as far as possible; the ruling class congregated in military headquarters and capital cities, and non-military Muslim penetration of the rural area was extremely slow and was, if at all, confined to missionaries. Except the martial classes, and that usually in course of hosti-

lities, and a few traders, the non-Muslim population thus hardly came into governmental contact with the sovereign race whose purpose of administration turned on the smooth and regular collection of the revenue. It is to be noted, however, that this exclusiveness of the rulers and the character of their administration wore out as the century progressed and as they came into closer contact with the conquered people. The principle of *laissez faire* in administration was one of the important things whose early abandonment featured the Khalji goverment who thus summed up a tendency that had been progressively making itself felt throughout the century.

A study of this earliest form of Indo-Muslim provincial government must therefore begin with a consideration of the status and power of the vassal ruler to whom the paramount ruler entrusted the regular administration of the major portion of his kingdom. Very little however can be gleaned on this point from the chronicles in which only his hostility provided an occasion for mentioning the feudatory chief The most important condition of his vassalage was, it is certain, the undertaking for the regular payment of tribute, which represented, it may be assumed, both the land-revenue (*kharaj*) and the poll-tax (*jaziya*) realizable from his dominions. His sovereignty was curtailed to provide for the inclusion, in his coinage, of the suzerain's name, whose omission would be a clear proof of his repudiation of vassalage In the majority of cases however, the right of having an independent coinage appears to have been entirely taken away, for among the 13th century coins so far discovered only one instance is afforded of such a modified vassalage The name of Iltutmish (Sama-sorala-deva, i.e. Shamsuddin) is included, evidently as a suzerain, in a few coins of a Cauhan prince of Ranthambhor whose name was read by Thomas as Chahara-deva [1] From an inscription of another prince, Jaitra Singh, dated 1215, acknowledging the overlordship of Vallanadeva of Ranthambhor, but also mentioning Iltutmish of 'Joginipur,'[2] it seems that the suzerainty was to be acknowledged in epigraphs also Government through the vassal kings was not confined to Hindu feudatories alone, for a unique coin, discovered in Bengal, proves the extension of this convenient method to Muslims also. The coin of *Shahin-shah* Alauddin Daulat-shah b. Maudud, dated 1227, mentioning, at the same time the name on the reverse, of *Sultanul Azam*

1 *Chronicles* p 70. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p 92 see also *Ind Ant*, 1918, p 41 ff Wright, *Cat of Coins, Ind Mus*, ii, p 24, no 77-79.
2 *Ind Ant.*, xvi, p. 86

Iltutmish,[3] can only be explained by assuming the former's vassalage. Whether the Muslim feudatory was also required to send tribute is a point on which information is obscure, but evidently it would not include the poll-tax which, although presumably realised from the non-Muslims, belonged to the local ruler. On the Muslim vassal the additional obligation of reading the Khutba in the suzerain's name was perhaps imposed, for it was one of the most jealously guarded symbols of sovereignty If the Assam king's offer to have the Khutba read in his capital in the name of the Muslim conqueror, Yuzbak, in 1255,[4] can be taken as illustrating the prevailing conditions of vassalage, the Hindu states were also required to give this symbolic expression to Muslim suzerainty, but this would depend in the existence of a Muslim colony in the Hindu feudatory state. In the details of administration the vassal ruler appears to have enjoyed complete independence, subject, obviously, to his obligation to respect his suzerain's edicts The privilege of having his own modified coinage probably carried with it the right to levy customs duty on his own frontiers. Ordinarily the vassal was his own master in the matter of assessment and collection of land-revenue, administration of justice and observance of religious practices. In the matter of revenue assessment, however, the standard set for the administered areas was expected to be followed in his dominions also, but this could hardly be a condition of vassalage Much depended on the prestige and strength of the king whose suzerainty had, in fact, to be periodically enforced on the point of sword.

The chronicles generally use the words Iqta (اقطاع) and Wilayat (ولایت) to indicate a division of the kingdom The former, which means, literally, a portion, is used much more frequently, seemingly with a technical meaning, on the exact determination of which depends a clear understanding of the nature of the local administration.[5] The word Iqta, meaning an administrative division, appears to have been used early in Central Asian States,[6] from which the Turks borrowed it. It is needless to point

3 *JRAS*, vi, p 367, no 13 4 *Tab Nas*, p 264-5

5 Both the words are used in a synonymous sense—See Barani p 96, also p 430 where Balban, in advising his son Bughra Khan, *Muqti'* of Lakhanuti, drew a distinction between *Iqtimdari* (kingdom) and Wilāyat-dāri, the last word having been evidently used for Muqti-ship: see also Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Appendix B pp 217-219

6 See, for example, Nizamal Mulk, *Siassat Namah*, p 28 Ibnul Athir

out that Raverty's translation of the world as 'fief'—which at once suggests a feudal system in which the tenants-in-chief of the king were virtual sovereigns in their own domains—is misleading A careful study of the chronicle will show that the so-called 'fief-holders' (Muqti's) were little more than bureaucratic officers under the central government. And yet considerable latitude was allowed to them in military affairs, which would be unthinkable for modern bureaucratic governors. As Professor Gibb has remarked,[7] the term fief is too convenient to be avoided, but not until we study the system closely in its actual working will its exact significance be clear to us.

Towards the end of the XIIth century, Nizamul-Mulk laid down the following rules for the guidance of the *Muqti's*.[8] "They (the *muqti's*) should know that their right over the subjects is only to take their rightful amount of money or perquisite (مال حق) in a peaceful method, . the life, property and the family of the subjects (رعايا) should be immune from any harm, the *muqti's* have no right over them, if the subject desires to make a direct appeal to the court of the Sultan, the *Muqti'* should not prevent him Every muqti' who violates these laws should be dismissed and punished, the kingdom and the subjects all belong to the king and the *Muqti's*, and the *Walis* are so many superintendents over them as the king is superintendent of other *muqti's* . After three or four years the *'Amils* and the *Muqti's* should be transferred so that they may not be too strong" There is no mention, however, of their rights and liabilities in other matters of government such as army, revenue and justice, but there are instances in Seljuq and also in Khwarizmi history showing that the *muqti'* had his own contingents equipped and maintained out of the revenue of his province, the rest of which went to the central government [9]

The same system in all its essential details was followed in India. The *muqti'* was appointed by the Sultan, and could be transferred and dismissed at will. Usually he maintained a body of troops consisting of both infantry and horsemen, out of his own provincial revenues, and was respon-

frequently uses it in his account of the Seljūq Kingdom X (Thornberg) pp 178, 274, see also *En-Nessāwi*, p. 79.

7 *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p 34

8 *Siassat Namah*, p 37

9 Ibnul Athir (Cairo) X, pp 127, 152, 176, 192, also Gibb, *Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, p 34

sible not only for the defence of his province, but also for the maintenance of law and order His troops could be requisitioned by the central government. Although it is not recorded that he, as a rule, despatched the surplus revenue of his province, after deducting the expenses of the army and the administration, yet instances are not rare to warrant such a supposition. The *muqti'* of Lahore and Multan was directed by Muhammud b. Sām in 501/1204 A D, to despatch the arrears of revenue to enable him to make preparations for his campaign in Transoxania.[10] According to Barani, Prince Muhammud, Balban's eldest son and viceroy of Sindh, used to bring the revenue of his province personally to his father every year[11] If we may take instances from the Khalji and Tughlaq period we may cite the instance of Alauddin, the *muqti'* of Karra and Awadh, who asked Jalaluddin Khalji for permission to utilise the surplus revenue (فواضل) of his province in purchasing horses and employing troops for an advance on Chanderi[12] That the *Muqti'* or *Wali* was responsible for the accounts of his provincial revenue to the Finance Ministry (دیوان وزارت) seems clear from the order of Ghiyāsuddin Tughlaq to his newly appointed officers. "If you desire that you may not be taken to task by the *Diwān-Wazārat* ..you should not be avaricious, take a little from the *Iqta'* and with this defray your expenses and pay your troops, and do not take a single farthing from the pay of the troops"[13] A close audit of the account of the *muqti'* is also implied in the following passage "Those (*muqti's*) who embezzle the money and tamper with the accounts and exact more than the specified share from the *Iqta'*, would be punished with chains and imprisonment."[14] From these facts, Mr. Moreland concludes that the *Muqti* was essentially a bureaucratic officer.[15] The term bureaucracy, however, should be accepted in a qualified sense, since a highly centralised government which the system presupposes, was not what we find in the kingdom of Delhi in the 13th

10 *Alfi* Or 142, F 497b Also *Jamiut-twarikh*, quoted by Raverty, *Trans Tab Nas*, p 482 note

11 Barani, p 59, see also pp 108-9

12 *Ibid*, p 220-21. 13 *Ibid*, p 431

14 *Idem*, see also *Ijaze-Khusravi*, Add 16841, F 106-7, where an auditor (محاسب) sent by the Diwan-i-Wazārat, complain of the refusal of the *muqti* of Manikpur to submit his accounts or to pay the surplus revenue (فواضل) which was fixed at thirty thousand *jitals*.

15 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 221.

century. On more than one occassion the *muqti'* of Lakhnauti attacked another loyal governor, and was not considered a rebel on that account, both Malik Tamar Khan and Arstān Khan, siezed the province of Lakhnauti without the sanction of Delhi [16] Although there is no record of the amount of his remuneration of salary (مواجب) as such, he must have had a definite share out of the revenues. The fact that in several instances,[17] the *muqti'* attempted to extend his province not only by conquering Hindu territories but also by annexing part or whole of other adjacent *Iqtas*, and thus increasing the total revenue, suggests that his salary was probably fixed in proportion to the entire revenue [18] Except as a punishment, as in the case of Malik Kabir Khan, who was recalled from Multan by Iltutmish and placed in charge of the small *Iqta'* of Pulwal,[19] or in the case of Malik Kushlu Khan, who, on the dismissal of Balban from the court in 651/1253 A D was transferred from his extensive *Iqta'* of Nagaur to Karra,[20] no *muqti* appears to have been transferred from a larger to a smaller *Iqta'*. Promotion in government service usually meant a transfer from a small to a larger *Iqta'* [21] It is important to note that although the *muqti* was assigned a fixed share in the revenue, his financial position was different from that of the assignee (*Iqtadar*) who had no financial liability to the central exchequer This is clear from the position of the two thousand *Shamsi Iqta'dars* who were assigned the revenues of the villages as their pay for personal service in the army [22] To this category also belonged the

16 *Tab Nas*, pp 245, and 267   17 *Op cit*, *Tab Nas*., pp 269, 277

18 What this proportion was is impossible to ascertain Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, early in the 14th century, asked his revenue minister not to punish the "*Maliks and Amirs*" if they appropriated "half-tenth or half-eleventh and one-tenth or one-fifteenth of the revenue of the *Iqta* or *wilayat*,—besides the customary perquisites (مواجب) of the office"—Barani, p 431 The wording here indicates that while the perquisite—whatever its value may have been—was his usual remuneration, the Tughluq king was prepared to allow the *Muqti* an extra percentage at the rate mentioned Perhaps it was a revival of an earlier practice, suspended by the Khalji centralization

19 *Tab Nas*, p 234   20 *Ibid*, p 270

21 For example, see the case of Balban who has promoted from the small *Iqta'* of Riwari to Hansi—*Tab Nas*, p 283-4, also Malik Aibak, promoted from Sarsuti to Behar, p 238-39, another Aibak was promoted from Narnaul to Baran—p 237, see also *ibid*, pp. 251, 253

22 Barani, p 61-63 The village was given to each of them as his مواجب Cf Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p 27

Iqta' of Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammad b. Bakhtiyār granted to him by the *Muqti'* of Awadh.[23] Other assignments for services of a non-military character were those made to the *Qāzis* of the realm as well as to the *Amir-i-Dād* of the city.[24]

A practical distinction with regard to their liability and position is discernible among the *Muqti's* of the different provinces. The *muqti'* of such provinces as Lakhanuti or Sindh appears to have enjoyed a different status from those of the provinces situated nearer the capital. Malik Nāsiruddin Mahmūd, eldest son of Iltutmish and *Muqti'* of Lakhnauti, had the insignia of royalty, namely the red canopy and mace, conferred upon him.[25] Malik Tughan Khan received a similar recognition from Raziya[26] while Bughra Khan, in addition to these honours, was permitted, according to Ferishta, to issue coins in his own name[27] Prince Muhammud, *Muqti* of Multan, was honoured by Balban in the same[28] way. The control of Delhi over the viceroyalties must have been different from the control of other provinces of the kingdom Iltutmish and Balban personally appointed the Clerk (or Secretary خواجه) of the *Iqta's* of Kanouj and Amroha respectively[29]

As regards other duties of the *Muqti'* we have already noted his responsibilities for the civil administration and military defence of the province. As the conquest was in the nature of a military occupation, the division of the kingdom was primarily military, and, as such, the maintenance and command of the provincial troops was the primary duty of the *Muqti'*. He enjoyed considerable freedom of action in the matter of fighting against the Hindus and also against foreign invaders To quote a few instances, Malik Ay-Yetim, *Muqti'* of Ajmere, died in course of an expedition against Bundi,[30] in 640/1242 A.D the *Muqti* of Budaon is said to have overthrown the independent tribes of Katehar,[31] the *Muqti'* of Meerut also undertook expeditions in Upper Rohilkhand.[32] He was expected to join the royal forces with his provincial contingents whenever required to do so, and failure was considered an act of rebellion. Malik Tez Khan was twice required to come with his troops from Awadh,[33] and Maliks

23 *Tab Nas*, p 147, the Governor of Budaon had previously paid him in cash.
24 *Tab Nas*, pp 223, 276.
25 *Tab. Nas.*, p 181
26 *Ibid*, p 243
27 Barani, p 92, Ferishta I, p 141
28 Barani, p 66
29 *Ibid*, p 36-38
30 *Tab Nas*, p 237
31 *Ibid*, p 256
32 *Ibid*, p 270
33 *Ibid*, p 260

Kushlu Khan and Qutlugh Khan were also ordered to be present with their troops from Budaon and Bayana respectively in the expeditions "against Multan and Uch" in 650/1252 A.D.[34] Malik Arslān Khan and Masūd-i-Jānī, the *Muqti'* of Awadh, had failed to present themselves with their contingents in 655/1257 A.D. for the preparations undertaken to fight the Mongols, and were greatly afraid of the consequences which led them to rebel.[35] Although every *Muqti'* was liable to military service, only those in the neighbourhood of Delhi were generally ordered to be present.

From a passage in Barani, recording the advice of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq to his officers, it appears that the central government fixed the strength, pay, and equipment of the provincial contingents, which the muqti' was not allowed to alter.[36] It is doubtful if this was a continuation of an earlier system[37] The 13th century autonomy would hardly square with this limitation on his action Before Alauddin's centralization, no such detailed interference with his army administration is in evidence Balban instructed his son, Bughra Khan, the *Muqti'* of Samāna and Sunam, to double the existing number of the provincial force by new recruitments and also to raise their pay.[38] He also impressed on him the necessity of keeping himself informed about every detail of his military affairs "Consider no expense for the army as too much and let your muster-master عارض ممالک engage himself always in maintaining the old and recruiting new troops and keeping himself informed about every expenditure in his department[39] The strength of the provincial contingent is nowhere indicated but it must have varied according to the revenue of the province The *Muqti* also had his Muster-master[40] (*'Ariz*) and was represented in the *Diwan-i-Arz* of the central government by his *Nāib-i-Ārz* (Deputy muster-master).[41]

It does not appear that the judicial organisation of the province was under his control, or that he had any judicial function to perform. Apart from his general duties of maintaining law and order, which, incidentally, was ordinarily limited to the chief cities and fortresses, and could be performed by the Kotwal appointed by him—his duties were confined, be-

34 *Tab Nas*, p 298 35 *Ibid*, p 311
36 Barani, p 431, Moreland draws the same inference—*Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p 220
37 *Tab Nas*, p 147 38 Barani, p. 80.
39 *Ibid*, p 101-2 40 *Idem*
41 Barani, p 116

sides what has been described above, to the raising of the 'king's share' of the revenue from the peasants, and the Hindu chiefs. We have no information respecting the existence of Muslim peasants at this period,[42] but in the cities there were owners of land and were liable to the payment of *kharaj* Hindus formed the bulk of the peasantry and in most provinces they paid the revenue through their village headman, called *Muquaddams* and *Chaudhuries*[43] Some of the tributary Hindu chiefs were under the *muqti'* while others paid directly to the *Diwān-i-Wazārat* in accordance with the terms of the original arrangement

The *muqti'* was generally resident of the province, but in some cases, particularly in the central provinces of the kingdom, there were absentee governors who ruled the province through deputies—sometimes appointed by the central government.[44] Malik Hindu Khan, Muqti' of Uch, ruled the province after he returned to Delhi in the reign of Bahram, through his deputy (*Naib*)[45] Balban, who held the office of *Amir-i-Hajib* and later of the *Naib-i-Mamlikat*, requiring his constant attendance at the court, must have administered his *Iqta* of Hansi and Siwalkh through a deputy At his dismissal in 651/1253 A.D, Hansi was placed in charge of the infant son of Mahmud[46] and in this case it must have been ruled by a *Naib*. In larger provinces the *Muqti'* himself appointed his deputy over important cities and outposts, Sher Khan placed his *Naib* Malik Kuret, over Multan,[47] the *Muqti* of Lahkhanor, killed by the army of the Rai of Jajnagar in 642/1244 A D, was most probably a deputy of Malik Tugan Khan[48] Probably to this class of deputy-governorship should belong the Iqta's of Narangoc (?) held by Ali-i-Maidān, Diwkot and Ganguri (?) held by Husāmuddin Iwaz, mentioned in connection with the early Khalji rule in Bengal.[49] The *Muqti* of Nagaur is said to have conferred the *Iqta'* of Kashmandi on Muhammud, the uncle of Ikhtiyāruddin Muhammud b. Bakhtiyār[50] The *Muqti'* obviously had the authority to

42 From a remark of Firoz Tughlaq recorded by Barani, p 574, it appears that agriculture was confined to the Hindus, who were recommended for kind treatment as "the agriculturists were the source of wealth for the *Baitul Māl* of the Muslims"

43 Barani, p 106

44 *E g* the Naib of Kanouj was appointed by Iltutmish—Barani., p 38

45 *Tab Nas*, p 399

46 *Ibid*, p 217

47 *Ibid*, p 277

48 *Ibid*, p 245

49 *Ibid*, p 157-8

50 *Tab Nas*, p 146, note, see also Raverty's Trans., p 549

assign land or villages to his officers, chiefly for military service, as is seen from the case of Ikhtiyāruddin who obtained the *Iqta'* of the Bhagwat and Bhiuli from the *Muqti'* of Awadh. Balban advised Bughra Khan to give *Iqta's* to trusted and loyal officers.[51] That the *Muqti'* could also make free grants of villages like the Sultan is proved by the grant of a village by Balban to Minhaj-i-Sirāj in 647/1249 A D—producing an income of thirty thousand *jitals*[52]

As to the existence of other provincial officers under him, there is no detailed information but since he was in effect a miniature king, the reproduction of the king's main departments in his province, may perhaps be presumed He had his secretary or *Dabir* at the head of his secretariat and also a confidential adviser.[53] It does not appear that he had any prime minister as such Ainul Mulk Asha'ri, who is said to have been appointed Wazir of Prince Firoz, the Muqti' of Budaon, by Iltutmish in 625/1227 A D.,[54] was most probably only a tutor or *Atabak* Lesser officers—called *Mutasarrif*, Karkun and *Amil*, formed his administrative and fiscal staff,[55] controlled by his own revenue department, over which the central ministry could claim, at best, auditorial authority Neither the judicial officers in the province nor the local *Barids* appear to have been under his control.

Extensive as the *Iqta'* system was it was by no means exclusive Mention is made occasionally of *Khalisah* lands and cities, placed in charge of *Amirs* or *Shahnahs* instead of *Muqti's* The city and district of Bhatinda appears as a *Khalisah*, at least during the first half of the century[56] Raverty translated the word as "Crown-land," but Moreland, more appropriately, renders it as "Reserve-land[57] Its status, financial liability and relation with the central government, were different from the ordinary *Iqta*,' though the name is sometimes also applied to it.[58] No

51 Barani, p 80 52 *Tab Nas*, pp 214, 295

53 He was named Kat-Khuda, *Tab Nas*, p 243, see also Add 16841, F 106b

54 *Tab Nas*, p 172

55 For the mention of a Mushrif and his Naib (probably an accountant) under the *Muqti* of Kol, see *Fawadul-Fawaid*, Or 1806, ff 56-57 The salary of these local officers was paid in cash but those attached to the revenue collection appear to have been allowed to appropriate ½ or 1 p c. of the collected revenue Barani, p 430

56 *Tab Nas*, p 250, 251

57 *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p 29. 58 *Tab Nas*, p 188

portion of the revenue of the area was assigned to any officer as in the case of the ordinary *Iqta'*, nor was the collection left to the *Muqti* or any other intermediary— but was directly administered by the Revenue Ministry through a Superintendent (Shahnah), who, unlike the *Muqti*,' was probably paid a fixed sum of money as his remuneration by the central exchequer Under the same system was probably the territory in the immediate neighbourhood of Delhi, the territory known in those days by the name of Harianah[59]—called the "Havali-i-Delhi"[60] which does not appear as part of any *Iqta*.' We do not know the administrative organisation of these regions, but for fiscal purposes it must have been directly under the *Diwan-i-Wazarat* The reserve land (or *Khalisah*) was, however, not permanent, for Bhatinda later on appears as an *Iqta'* under Malik Sher Khan,[61] which shows that while the distinction remained, the land itself could be changed from *Khalisah* to *Iqta'* Another important fact should also be mentioned in this connection The fortress of Gwalior, during the period it was held by Delhi, was never converted into an *Iqta* but remained always under an Amir evidently a military officer [62] It was a military division and the commandant presumably carried no administrative duties. The case of Karra on the Ganges, near Allahabad may be cited as an example of a military division being eventually converted into a civil administrative unit During the reign of Iltutmish it formed the military charge of an Amir,[63] but by the time of Mahmud it had attained the status of an ordinary *Iqta*'[64]

A B. M HABIBULLAH

59 For the early use of the name and the extent of the territory see *Epi Indo-Mos*, 1913-14 p 38.

60 Moreland, *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p 23, for its approximate boundary

61 *Tab. Nas*, p 277

62 Iltutmish's first appointment was in Gwalior as its *Amir Tab Nas*, p 169 When he reconquered it in 638/1231 A D he appointed only three officers there, the *Amir-i-dad*, the *Kotwal* and the *Qazi*, *ibid*, p 175 Malik Tyasai was appointed as the superintendent of Gwalior and not its *Muqti*, *ibid*, p 240

63 *Ibid*, p 177, see also Raverty's note, on p 626 of his trans

64 *Ibid*, p 217

MISCELLANY

Dr. Bhattasali's comments on Rāmacarita

In course of his article on "The second struggle of Bhīma and his friend Hari in the Rāmacaritam" in the June issue of this Journal (pp. 126-138) Dr. N. K. Bhattasali has found fault with two statements in the Introduction which he has attributed to me. On p 136 he has quoted a passage from p. xxxiii of the Introduction which ends with the following sentence. "He (Rāmapāla) may thus be said to have ruled over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, *or at least over major portions of these provinces*" In quoting the passage, Dr Bhattasali has omitted the portion I have italicized aobve, and, after referring to some "facts," observed "Under these circumstances, to call Rāmapāla master of the whole of Eastern India appears to be a rather lamentable non-appreciation of the actual facts" I leave the reader to judge for himself the propriety of leaving out a very material portion in the extract quoted by him so as to give it an altogether different meaning and then criticising a statement which was never made

As regards the "facts" referred to by Dr. Bhattasali, *viz*, that "the Varmans were in full occupation of Vanga and of probably the entire region south of the Ganges and east of the Bhāgīrathī," and that "the whole of Kalinga including Utkala was under the mighty Coḍaganga," during the reign of Rāmapāla, it will help the cause of history if Dr. Bhattasali would state the evidence on which they are based For the present I can only say that I am not aware of any positive evidence justifying the categorical remarks of Dr Bhattasali, and that they are opposed to well-known and reliable evidences.

Again, on p 127 Dr Bhattasali quotes a passage from p. xxix and then adds —

"Dr. Majumdar then goes on to say that the commentary found with the text of the *Rāmacaritam* abruptly ends here This is incorrect, because the commentary ends with II. 35 and not with II. 36."

Here, also, Dr. Bhattasali has omitted to quote the first portion of the sentence which would show that the word "here" refers in a general way to the text describing subsequent facts and not specifically to verse II. 36. It

has been clearly stated on p. vi. of the Introduction that "the commentary does not run beyond verse 35 of Canto II."

Dr. Bhattasali has pointed out that I "was tempted to identify Hari with Harivarman of Vaṅga but was not prepared to hazard any definite opinion" (p. 135), whereas he seems to have no doubt on this point. I plead guilty to the charge, for I have always feared to tread where Dr. Bhattasali can easily rush.

As regards the other general points raised by Dr. Bhattasali, I need only point out that where uncertainties are so great, any new theory deserves consideration, but his views do not appear to be more convincing than those put forward in our Introduction.

R C MAJUMDAR

Aṣṭaka-navaka-nala

We may try to know the meaning of *astaka-navaka-nala* after giving some instances where it occurs It occurs in lines 15-17 of the dated[1] and line 19 of the undated[2] Faridpur plates said to be of Dharmāditya but really of Gopacandra, 'Dharmāditya' being a title neither of Samudragupta, as Dr. Hoernle at first thought it to be[3] nor of Yaśodharman, as he and Mr Pargiter thought later,[4] but of Gopacandra himself. It also occurs in line 19 of the grant of Gopacandra dated the year 19[5] and also in line 10 of the Dāmodarpur copper-plate No 3[6] Lines 15-17 of the dated Faridpur plate (Plate A) run thus: —

' Śivacandra-ha (sten = āsta) kanavaka-nalenām (śam)[7] apaviñchya ['*] Vātabhoga-sakāśe ['*] smābhi [r*] Dhruvilātyām ksetrākulyavāpattrayam tāmmrapatta-dhammanā vikkrīta [m*]'.

1 *IA*, XXXIX, pp 195-196 Plate A of the three copper-plate grants from East Bengal edited by Mr Pargiter

2 *Ibid*, p 201 Line 19 of the undated Faridpur plate (Plate B) runs thus, " . dharmaśila-Śivacandra—hast—āstaka—navaka—nalen—āpaviñchya "

4 *Ibid*, XXI, p 44-45 4 *Ibid*, XXXIX, p 208

5 *Ibid*, XXXIX, p 204 Line 19 of this (Plate C) runs in the same way as that of Plate B

6 *EI*, XV, p 136

7 'Śam' is not found in the original plate but is pointed out by Mr Pargiter, though he has not added it in his transliteration

Mr. Pargiter translated the above passage thus :—

".. .we, having severed the land according to the standard measure of eight reeds in breadth and nine in length by the hand of Śivacandra, have sold to Vātabhoga a triple kulya-sowing area of cultivated land in Dhruvilāṭī by the custom of copper-plate."[8] So, according to Mr. Pargiter, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* means the area eight reeds broad and nine reeds long and he equated this area with a *kulyavāpa*.[9] He thought that *aṣṭaka-navaka* cannot be connected with the word *hasta* preceding it, as in such a case it would mean that the reed was eight or nine cubits and so not of a definite length.[10] Dr. R. G. Basak follows Mr. Pargiter by translating *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* as a measurement of 8 × 9 reeds,[11] though Dr Basak does not equate this with *kulyavāpa*,[12] as Mr. Pargiter did.

While Mr Pargiter and Dr Basak take *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* as a unit measuring 8 × 9 reeds, Dr. Benoychandra Sen differs from them. According to him, it means a unit measured by two different kinds of *nalas*, one for measuring length and the other for measuring breadth the former being of nine cubits and the latter eight.[13] So two different kinds of *nalas* were used to measure the length and breadth respectively of the same unit called *astaka-navaka-nala*. We are at a loss to know why there should be two different *nalas* (one for length and another for breadth) in measuring one and the same unit. It only adds to confusion in measuring. So it is not possible to accept Dr. Sen's conclusion. Again, *astaka-navaka-nala* can never be made to refer to an oblong area (of 8 × 9 reeds according to Mr. Pargiter or 8 × 9 cubits according to Dr Sen). *Nala* means a reed and as a unit of measurement, it can mean only a unit of particular length, not an oblong area of particular size at all. So it is wrong to equate, with Mr Pargiter, *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* with *kulyavāpa*. Also such equation is unwarranted by the inscriptions themselves. Further, as Dr. Sen says,[14] it would have been superfluous to mention the two identical expressions (*aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* and *kulyavāpa*) separately. Finally, *astaka-navaka-nala* cannot mean an oblong area, as the word *'apaviñchya'*

8 *IA*, XXXIX, pp 197-198
9 *Ibid*, p 215
10 *Ibid*, p 215.
11 *EI*, XV, p 137
12 *EI*, XV, p 132, n 2
13 See his *'Some historical aspects of the inscriptions of Bengal'* pp 519-520
14 *Ibid.*, p 520.

indicates measuring and separating land, not by a standard oblong area, but by a standard unit of particular length.

We cannot accept the meaning of *aṣṭaka-navaka-nala* given to it by Mr. Pargiter and Dr. Basak or by Dr. Sen. It means, according to us, a *nala* or reed of eight to nine cubits length. It seems to be right to connect *aṣṭaka* and *navaka* with *hasta* preceding them and to take them, with Dr. Sen, as cubits.

V. LAKSHMINARAYANA

Ba'urah or Baruza?

In a note published in the *IHQ.*, vol. XVIII, (pp. 369 ff) entitled—*The word Ba'ūrah in Murūj ul-Zahab of Al Ma'sūdī* Dr. H. C. Ray has tried to identify the enigmatic word Ba'ūrah with the dynastic name Pratihāra. The word occurs in the account of the Arab traveller Al Ma'sūdī who visited Western India towards the beginning of the 10th century His account was completed sometime before 955 A D While speaking of the contemporary kings of Kanoj, Al Ma'sūdī says that the king of Kanoj was called Ba'ūrah and that it was also the common title of all the kings within the empire. The contemporary ruling dynasty of Kanoj was the Gurjara-Pratihāra and this has naturally led scholars to connect the word Ba'ūrah with Pratihāra inspite of the great phonetic difficulty. Dr Ray endorses the view that it is a corruption of the dynastic name Pratihāra (> Padihāra).

The reading of the word is far from certain. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille who were the first to edit the text and translate it under the title *Les Prairies d'Or* adopted the reading *Bawūrah* (and not *Baourah* as Dr. Ray has noted). Ba'ūrah is the reading adopted by Elliot and Dowson. Prof. Hodivala suggests the reading *Bozah*, *Bozoh* or *Bodzah* and connects it with the name Bhoja. Bhoja is however the personal name of only one principal ruler of the Pratihāra dynasty, that of Bhoja I Al Ma'sūdī on the contrary clearly states that it was the *title* common to all the kings within the empire. This is why Prof. Hodivala's suggestion has not been found fully satisfactory.

None of these scholars seems to have compared a revised translation of certain portions of Al Ma'sūdī's work given by Ferrand in his *Textes Géographiques Arabes Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extreme-Orient* (pp. 91-

108). He gives an entirely new reading—that of *Barūza* which is the reading accepted by Marquart (*Eransahr*, pp. 263-264) on the basis of the Leyden manuscript of the text. This reading, I believe, gives a satisfactory solution of the problem. Ferrand translates the relevant passages thus:

(i) "One of his (Ballahrā) neighbours, amongst the kings of India far away from the sea, is the lord of the city of Kanudj,—the Barūza which is the title given to all the sovereigns of that kingdom. He has strong garrisons stationed in the North, South, West and East because each of these sides is menaced by a warlike neighbour." (P. 94)

(ii) "The king of India is called Ballahrā, that of Kanudj in Sind Barūza and that is the name which is borne by all the kings of the country. There is also the city of Barūza which today is in the bosom of Islam and amongst the dependencies of Multan. It is from this city that comes out one of the rivers of which the union forms the Mihrān (Indus) of Sind. ... The king of Kanudj, Barūza, is the adversary of Ballahrā, the king of India" (P. 102).

(iii) "The kingdom of Barūza, the king of Kanudj, has an area of nearly 120 square parasangs in parasangs of Sind, each of which measures 8000 (parasangs) of this country. This king about whom we have already spoken, has four armies according to the four directions of wind—each of these consists of seven hundred thousand or even nine hundred thousand men. The Northern army is destined to fight with the ruler of Multan and his subjects, the Musalmans who have settled on this frontier. The Southern army operates against the Ballahrā, the king of Mānkir. The other two armies are meant for any quarter whatsoever in which the enemy might appear" (Pp. 102-103)

(iv) " ... The Mihrān (Indus) of Sind comes out from well known sources in the upper region of Sind, the territory of Kanudj, the kingdom of Barūza, the countries of Kaśmir, Kandahār and Ṭekin and at last it flows into Multān where it gets the name of Mihrān of Gold" (P. 95)

All are agreed that the kings of Kanoj mentioned by Al Ma'sūdī were the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings. We cannot think of any other contemporary dynasty which had attained the political and military strength to which Al Ma'sūdī refers. But how to explain the title *Barūza*, which according to Al Ma'sūdī was a title borne by all rulers of the kingdom?

Barūza can be explained as the Persian translation of the word *Varāha*. The word corresponding to Sanskrit Varāha and meaning "boar" is in

Avestan—*Varāza,* in Pehlevi—*Varāz* and in New Persian—*Varāz* (Cf. Paul Horn—*Neupersische Etymologie,* no. 896) Probably the correct reading was *Bareza* (بارزه) instead of Barūza (باروزه) In any way the Arab copyist did not pay much attention to the vowel quantity of letter *rā* (ر) in the Persian word.

We know that Varāha was a favourite title of the Gurjara kings. King Bhoja who was the real founder of the Gurjara-Pratihāra supremacy had assumed the title of *Ādi-Varāha* He had assumed another title viz. Mihira to show his leanings to the sun-worship It is not known if all the rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty had assumed the title Varāha. But we know that the Gurjara rulers of Kathiāwāḍ favoured the title This is clearly mentioned in a line of the famous passage of the Jaina *Harivamśa* which has been quoted by various authors (R. C Majumdar—*The Gurjara-Pratihāras, JL ,* X, p 23, B. C. Sen—*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal,* p. 296). The last line of the passage runs as follows *sauryānām-adhimandale jayayute vire Varāhe-vati* which has been rendered as " and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha of the Sauryas " The Jaina *Harivamśa* was completed in 783-784 A D. We know of another king Dharanīvarāha, most probably of the same stock, who was ruling in Kathiāwād as a Mahāsāmanta of Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty in the beginning of the 10th century A D.

All this suggests that the title *Varāha* was a favourite title of the Gurjara rulers either of the Pratihāra or of other clans Al Ma'sūdī, in fact, does not say that the title was confined to the Pratihāra clan alone He clearly says that the title was used by all kings of the Gurjara empire The name of one of the last rulers of the Pratihāra clan, Barū-jaybāl becomes less enigmatic if we take the first word as the same title Barūza (-Varāha) The real name of the ruler was probably Jaypal and Varāha, the title

Al Ma'sūdī also refers to a city called Barūza which formerly belonged to the Gurjara empire but in his days had been annexed to the Mahomedan kingdom of Sind. No definite identification of this place has been proposed by Dr Ray either in his *Dynastic History* (I, p 16) or in his article already referred to Al Ma'sūdī says that one of the main tributaries of the Indus comes out from this city This can only mean that the city was situated near the sources of one of the tributaries of the Indus.

There were two cities which bore the name Varāha. One of these two is mentioned by Hiuan-tsang as *Si-p'i-to-fa-la-tzu* which was restored

by Julien as Sphitavaras and by Watters as Śvetavat (Watters—*On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 126) But Marquart was the first to recognise the name as a Middle Persian one and to restore it as **Speta-varāz* which would be in Sanskrit *Śveta-Varāha* (Marquart—*Festschrift Sachau*, p. 265, referred to by Pelliot—*T'oung Pao*, XXIII, p. 114n) The city was situated in the neighbourhood of Kapiśā and was thus in Kafiristan. None of the tributaries of the Indus has its source near Kapiśā unless we think of the Kabul river. But Al Ma'sūdī clearly mentions one of the Punjab tributaries which flows up to Multan The next city which had the name of Varāha is the *Varāhamūlapura* or Bārāmūla which is situated near the gateway to the Kashmir valley The Jhelum after carrying the waters of the Wular lake passes by this city It could be very well described as a city situated near the sources of the Jhelum which is one of the main tributaries of the Indus

We have next to examine if the city of Varāhamūlapura ever belonged to the Gurjaras and if it had really passed into the hands of the Musalmans in the 10th century. It is likely that the frontier province of the Kashmir valley up to Bārāmūla was in the hands of the Gurjaras in the end of the ninth and the beginning of the 10th centuries The Gurjara king Alakhāna occupied the upper portions of the flat Doab between the Jhelum and Chenab rivers, south of Dāivābhisūra and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east The *Rājatarangiṇī* informs us that Alakhāna was defeated by Śaṅkaravarman and compelled to cede to Kashmir the territories contiguous with it (*Rāj*, IV, 142-143, Ray—*Dynastic History*, I, pp 72 ff.) It is not improbable that Alakhāna had extended his supremacy up to the gates of Kashmir and annexed Bārāmūla to his kingdom for sometime. But there is no evidence of any Mahomedan conquest in this region before the end of the 10th century

P. C BAGCHI

Pāśupatasūtra

This is the earliest and most authoritative text-book of the Nakulīśa Pāśupata school of Śaivas, which was drawn upon and held in great esteem by all later writers, who claimed divine origin for it. A communication about a manuscript of the work accompanied by a portion of a commentary of Kauṇḍanya on it, found in the Indian Museum collection of manuscripts made over to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal was given by the writer of the present note at the monthly meeting of the Society in November 1938.[1] The work was subsequently published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series (No. CXLIII). The edition is based on a manuscript discovered in Benares and partly on the manuscript of the Society [2] A number of variants have been noted in it though the sources thereof have not been indicated But variants found in the Society's manuscript have not been mentioned [3] As a matter of fact, however, there exist differences of readings between the printed edition and the Society's Ms. A reference is made below to those noticed in the text of the sūtras as being the more important

Printed ed.	Ms.
I. 2 ध्यायीत	ध्यायात्
I. 8 ०डुडुंकार	०हुहुंकार
I. 9 दक्षिणामूर्तेः	दक्षिणामूर्तिम्
I 25-6 विकरणः धर्मित्वं	विकरणधर्मित्वं
I. 38 इत्येतैर्गुणै०	इत्येतैरेभिर्गुणै०
I. 43 भजस्व	भवस्व
I. 44 भवोद्भवः	भवोद्भवाय नमः
II. 3 ज्येष्ठस्य	This is followed by श्रेष्ठस्य
II. 6 सार्वकामिक०	सर्वकामिक०
II 15 अतिदत्तमतीष्टं	अतिदत्तमतिगूढ
II 22 ज्येष्ठाय नमः	This is followed by श्रेष्ठाय नमः
II. 24 कलविकरणाय नमः	This is followed by बलविकरणाय नमो बलाय नमः

1 Vide *Year-book of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol V, p 148, *Hindu* (Madras), November 13, 1938.

2 It is not stated definitely as to how the manuscript was utilised, save and except that a portion of the work not found in the Benares manuscript was taken from the former.

3 The sources of the portions within squared brackets (p 51 & p 107) have not also been indicated.

II. 27	मनोऽमयाय	मनोन्मनाय
III. 2	व्यक्ताचारः	अव्यक्ताचारः
III. 18	परिभवं	परेभ्यः परिभवं
III. 23	घोरघोरतरेभ्यश्च	घोरघोरतरेभ्यः
IV 1	तप आनन्त्याय	तपोऽनन्ताय
IV 7	कृतान्न०	कृतन्त०
IV 15	अनिन्दितकर्मा	Not found in Ms.
V 12	असङ्गः योगी	असङ्गयोगी
V. 25	हृदि	तत्सदिति हृदि
V 37	संचित्तम्	संचिन्त्य
V 38	स्थापयित्वा च	स्थापयित्वा तु
V 39	क्षेमी सन्	क्षेम्यां सं०
V. 44	ब्रह्मणोऽधिपति०	ब्रह्माधिपतिर्ब्रह्मणोऽधिपति०
V. 47	शिवः	शिवोम्

It will be noticed that some of the variants in the concluding sūtras of the different chapters agree with texts occurring in *Taittirīya Āranyaka* (X. 43-7),[1] from which they might have been borrowed. It may not be unlikely that these formed part of the original version which was slightly different from the one commented on by Kauṇḍanya.

A very important variant noticed in the commentary portion relates to the name of the author of the commentary which is Kauṇdanya in the Society's Ms and Kauṇdinya in the printed edition.

Of the variants of the commentary only one noted on p. 26 of the edition occurs in the Society's Ms and that side by side with the reading adopted in the former.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

4 Sāyana's reading सर्वैतः in X. 45, 1 does not, however, agree either with the printed edition or the manuscript.

Evidence of the Nālandā Seals[1]

1. *Seal of Budha Gupta* [2]

The exact position of Budha Gupta (*c* 476-95 A.D) in the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas could not so long be determined owing to want of definite evidence. Some scholars suggested that he was a son of Kumāra Gupta I (*c* 414-55 A D.), while others took him to be the successor (possibly son) of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription (473 A.D.). The recently published Nālandā seal[3] of Budha Gupta, though unfortunately fragmentary, proves beyond doubt that all the hypotheses regarding his relationship with other members of the Imperial Gupta family are wrong and that Budha Gupta was certainly a son of Pura Gupta whose real name as found on the Nālandā seal of his son Narasimha Gupta is no doubt Pūru Gupta.[4]

A little more than half of the Nālandā seal of Budha Gupta is broken away and lost. The preserved portion actually belongs to the proper left of the seal. Fortunately however the text of the lost section can be very satisfactorily restored with the help of the Nālandā seals of Narasimha Gupta, son of Pūru Gupta, and the Nālandā and Bhitarī seals of Narasiṃha's son Kumāra Gupta. Comparing the lines of writing, the concluding section of each of the lines and the size of the seal of Narasiṃha Gupta with those of the seal of Budha Gupta, one cannot fail to notice the striking similarity between the two It is perfectly clear that the text of lines 1-6 on

1 The author is indebted for a few suggestions to Prof H C Raychaudhuri who is now inclined to take Śakrāditya of a Nālandā seal (*Mem A S I*, No 66, p 38) and of Hiuen Tsang to be a *viruda* of Pūru Gupta

2 After this note was prepared and sent for publication, Mr A Ghosh's note on Budha Gupta's seal has been published in *I H Q*, June, 1943, p 119ff

3 *Mem A S I*, No 66 *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material* by H Sastri, p 64

4 Cf Krishna Deva, *Ep Ind*, XXVI, p 236 and line 6 of the Nālandā seal of Narasimha Gupta, plate VIII (b) in *Mem A S I*, No 66 I cannot accept the suggestion that Skanda Gupta and Pūru Gupta were one and the same king Such a theory cannot be accepted without further evidence, as the absence of Skanda's name and the use of Pūru's on the seals and the presence of the former and the absence of the latter in the inscriptions can hardly be explained in the present state of our knowledge

the seals of both Narasimha Gupta and Budha Gupta is the same as the corresponding section of the inscription on the seals of Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasiṃha Gupta. A comparison of this section of the epigraph as found on the seals of Narasiṃha Gupta and Budha Gupta would show that both the seals have practically similar number of *akṣaras* in the corresponding lines.

Restored text of the Nālandā Seal of Budha Gupta.

1. [मर्व्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज*]श्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्क-

2. [चपौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छवि*]दौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-

3. [स्य महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तम्य पुत्रस्तत्परि*]गृहीतो महादेव्यां दत्तदेव्या-मुत्पन्नः

4. [स्वयञ्चाप्रतिरथः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्री*]चन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-दानुध्यातो

5. [महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराज* श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-

6. [नुध्यातो महादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म*]हाराजाधिराजश्री[पूरु]गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-

7. [स्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां श्री*]महा(?)देव्यामुत्पन्नः

8. [परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज श्री*]बुधगुप्तः (॥*)

Restored text of the Nālandā Seal of Narasimha Gupta

1. [सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्तुः पृथि*]व्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराजश्रीगुप्तप्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कचपौ-

2. [त्रस्य महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तपुत्रस्य लिच्छविदौहित्रस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-

3. [स्य महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्तदेव्या-मुत्पन्न-

4. [स्स्वयञ्चाप्रतिरथ*]: परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-स्तत्पादानु-

5. [ध्यातो महादेव्यां*] ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजाधिराजश्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पा-

6. [दानुध्यातो म*]हादेव्यामनन्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः महाराजाधिराजश्रीपूरुगुप्तस्तस्य पु-

7. [त्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो*] महादेव्यां श्रीचन्द्रदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभाग-

8. [वतो महाराजाधिरा*]जश्रीनरसिंहगुप्तः (॥*)

Number of *akṣaras* in the lines.

Line	Seal of Narasiṃha	Seal of Budha
1	36	34
2	36	38
3	34	34
4	34	36
5	32	31
6	31	31
7	24	18
8	16	19

It will be seen that there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between the names of Pūru Gupta and Budha Gupta and that there is hardly any doubt regarding their relationship as indicated by the word *putra* occurring at the end of line 6. It is thus proved that Budha Gupta was a son of Pūru Gupta We cannot be sure about the name of Budha Gupta's mother, but she seems to be different from Candradevī, mother of Narasimha Gupta It may be pointed out in this connection that the word *mahādevī* meaning simply "a queen" is usually but wrongly taken by scholars to indicate "the chief queen"

The theory of those scholars who placed the reign of Pūru Gupta after that of Budha Gupta is now rendered impossible by the evidence furnished by the Nālandā seal of Budha Gupta. But the chronological position of Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta is likely to remain unsettled until further evidence is forthcoming. If Kumāra Gupta, son of Narasimha Gupta, is identified with Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription of 473 A.D., we have to believe that Pūru Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta and Viṣṇu Gupta all ruled between 467 A.D. the last known date of Skanda Gupta and 476 A.D. the first known date of Budha Gupta, and that Budha Gupta, possibly a younger step-brother of Narasiṃha Gupta, succeeded Viṣṇu Gupta on the throne. The main objection to this view would be the accommodation of four kings within the comparatively short period of nine years. We have moreover to find out a Bālāditya, different from Narasiṃha Gupta Bālāditya, to be assigned to the same period as that of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (*c*. 515-35 A.D.).

It is also possible to suggest that Budha Gupta was the elder step-brother of Narasiṃha Gupta and that Narasiṃha Gupta, his son Kumāra Gupta and the latter's son Viṣṇu Gupta were all successors of Budha Gupta. In this case, Narasimha Gupta no doubt becomes a contemporary of Mihirakula, but the position of Kumāra Gupta of the Sārnāth inscription (473 A.D.) in the genealogy of the Imperial Guptas remains undetermined. This view moreover cannot be quite easily reconciled with the rule of Vainya Gupta (507 A.D) and Bhānu Gupta (510 A.D.). Of course there may be a third alternative suggesting the division of empire and the simultaneous rule of more than one prince at a time in different parts of the country. It is not easy to accept without the help of further evidence any one of the suggestions in the present state of our knowledge. The doubtful evidence of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives no material help, while the tradition recorded in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* that Bālāditya, contemporary of Mihirakula, was preceded by Tathāgata Gupta and Buddha Gupta and succeeded by his son Vajra makes the confusion worse confounded.

2 *Seal of Vainya Gupta*

A king named Vainya Gupta was known from the Gunaighar (Tippera Dist., Bengal) inscription of A.D. 507[1] He was identified with Dvādaśāditya of the coins It however could not be determined if Vainya Gupta actually belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty While the Imperial Guptas are called *parama-bhāgavata*, Vainya Gupta, if the published text of the Gunaighar inscription is to be accepted was *bhagavan-mahādevapād-ānudhyāta* The small fragment of a seal of this king was discovered at Nālandā sometime ago and has been recently published[2] The legend on the seal, though partially preserved, resembles in point of style that of the seals of the Imperial Guptas The text of the preserved portion of the legend runs: ..... गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्त...स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातः श्री...गुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यातो महादेव्यां...परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराजश्रीवैन्यगुप्तः

It will be seen that Vainya Gupta was not only a *paramabhāgavata*, but, like his own name, the names of his ancestors ended in the word *Gupta*. It is thus clear that Vainya Gupta belonged to the line of the Imperial Guptas and that he ruled at least over considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar almost immediately after Budha Gupta We do not know anything about the

1 Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, p 331ff 2 *Mem A.S.I.*, No 66, p. 67.

relationship that might have existed between Budha Gupta and Vainya Gupta and between the latter and Bhānu Gupta of the Eran inscription of 510 A.D.[3] As regards the position of Bhānu Gupta, several alternate suggestions are possible. Firstly, Bhānu Gupta may have been a successor of Vainya Gupta and the dominions of both may have included parts of Eastern Malwa. Secondly, Vainya Gupta may have been the lord of the eastern part of the Gupta empire when its western part was being ruled by Bhānu Gupta Thirdly, Bhānu Gupta may have actually been a viceroy in the Malwa region like Govinda Gupta and Ghatotkaca Gupta.[4]

The reign period of Vainya Gupta is intimately associated with the history of the downfall of the Imperial Guptas The rise of a ruling dynasty represented by Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva in Central and South-west Bengal in the first half of the sixth century A D possibly points to the extirpation of Gupta rule from the whole of Bengal excepting the Pundravardhana bhukti (North Bengal) The centre of the power of this royal line was possibly in Gauda (mod Murshidābād Dist)[6] and the characterisation of the so-called Gaudī *riti* of poetical composition was probably effected under the patronage of these kings and their successors The Maukharis of Magadha may have come into conflict with the Gaudas originally as feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, but when, in course of the struggle, Gupta rule in Magadha was extinguished, the Maukharis fought with the Gaudas with the claim of mastery over Magadha It is not impossible that Gauda rulers like Gopacandra advanced considerably into Magadha by pushing the Maukharis back towards the west and that it was they who extirpated Gupta rule from North Bengal about the middle of the sixth century But the decline of the Guptas in North Bengal may have been mainly due to the encroachment of the kings of Kāmarūpa[7]

The western limit of the dominions of Budha Gupta and his successors cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge It is usually

3 *Sel Ins*, p 335f

4 *Ibid*, pp 298f, 494ff

5 Cf *Ibid*, pp 350ff, 354ff, 357ff, 359ff

6 Gopacandra's dominions certainly included the Burdwan Dist, just to the south of the Murshidabad Dist which is Gauda in the oldest and the most restricted sense For a Nālandā seal of the Candras see H Sastri, *op cit*, pp 29-30

7 Mahāsena Gupta of the "Later Gupta" Dynasty is known to have defeated Susthitavarman king of Kāmarūpa, near the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) This possibly points to the fact that this Kāmarūpa king tried to extend his political influence upon considerable portions of North Bengal

supposed that the successors of Skanda Gupta lost control over the Kathiawar region and the successors of Budha Gupta even lost West and parts of East Malwa to the Hūṇas These points cannot be definitely settled until further evidence is forthcoming. It is however not impossible that the early Maitrakas were subordinates of the Imperial Guptas and that the *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* referred to in the inscription (502 A.D)[8] of Mahārāja Droṇa-siṃha who was aspiring for independence was actually a prince of the Gupta family whose power in the western part of the empire was already on the decline It is interesting to note that West Malwa is known to have been freed from Hūṇa occupation Yaśodharman-Viṣṇuvardhana of the Aulikara family that was originally subordinate to the Imperial Guptas [9] Even in East Malwa not the Imperial Guptas, but a different ruling family is found established after the expulsion of the Hūnas.[10] This new dynasty is called the "Later Gupta" which is however a misnomer They neither claim connection with the Guptas, nor do they call their family *Gupta*, and at least the name of one of the members, Ādityasena, has nothing to do with that word The early members of this family were apparently subordinate to the Imperial Guptas, but during the Hūna trouble about the beginning of the sixth century, Krsna Gupta appears to have assumed independence. About the final collapse of the Imperial Gupta power in the middle of the sixth century A D , the Maukharis were powerful in parts of Bihar and U P.[11], but they had to contend with the Gaudas in the east and the line of Kṛṣṇa Gupta in the west

8 *Sel Ins*, p 403ff 9 *Ibid* pp 386ff, 393ff, 504

10 Kumāra Gupta and Mādhava Gupta, sons of Mahāsena Gupta, are referred to in the *Harsacarita* as "sons of the king of Mālava" Deva Gupta who apparently drove away the above princes and occupied the throne of Mahāsena Gupta is likewise represented as king of Mālava This Deva Gupta in alliance with Śaśāṅka of Gauda defeated and killed Maukhari Grahavarman and occupied Kanauj for a time He was next defeated by Rājyavardhana king of Thaneswar Both West and East Malwa were very soon occupied by the Kataccuris whose original territory may have been about the city of Māhismatī on the Narmadā This northward push of the Kataccuris may have been due to Cālukya pressure from the south But they were soon subdued by Harsa who must have made his position in Malwa secure before advancing against the Maitraka kingdom

11 That the Maukharis styled themselves as lords of Magadha is suggested in an inscription of the Somavaṃśis of South Kosala A brother's son of Tīvara (*c* 565-80; cf *I H Q*, XIX, p 144) is said to have married the daughter of a *nrpa* (prince) named Sūryavarman, "born in the family of the Varmans who were great

3. *Seal of Bhāskaravarman.*

A seal of Bhāskaravarman, the celebrated king of Kāmarūpa in the first half of the seventh century A D. has been found at Nālandā.[1] It may be suggested that after the death of his powerful friend Harṣa, Bhāskaravarman occupied parts of Bengal and Bihar and that the seal belongs to the period of Kāmarūpa occupation of Nālandā. But the suggestion regarding the occupation of Bihar is rendered doubtful by the fact that Harsa probably established the "Later Guptas" in Magadha during the concluding years of his life.[2]

The seal may then be connected with Bhāskaravarman's stay in South Bihar in the year 643 A.D The story as given in the *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* is worth quoting.[3]

Harṣa Śilāditya came to Orissa after the subjugation of Kongoda (East Ganjam). When he was progressing through Orissa, local Buddhist monks of the Hīnayāna school showed him a book that had been written for showing up certain Mahāyāna doctrines. Harsa who is reported to have had Mahā-

owing to their suzerainty over Magadha" (*M K.H S Papers*, II, p 19 निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्म्मणां.........यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्म्मा नृपः). Raychaudhuri's identification of this Sūryavarman with the son of Iśānavarman, mentioned in the Haraha inscription (553-54 A D), is justifiable (*Pol Hist*, p 512, n) There is hardly place for a Varman dynasty in Magadha, other than the Maukhari For Maukhari epigraphs in Bihar, cf Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos 1603-05, 2079-81 Magadha was after them under Śaśānka, Harsa, the Later Guptas, the Gauda contemporary of Yaśovarman, the Pālas of Bengal and the Pratihāras of Kanauj Pūrnavarman, mentioned by Hiuen Tsang as a local ruler of Magadha possibly belonged to the Maukhari family Maukhari Bhogavarman ruled somewhere in Bihar or U P as a feudatory of Ādityasena

1 *Mem A S I*, No 66, p 69

2 After Mahāsena Gupta's death, his sons were driven out by Deva Gupta and were compelled to take shelter at the Court of Thanesar Prabhākaravardhana was probably the sister's son of Mahāsena Gupta Kumāra Gupta, son of Mahāsena Gupta, is known to have been installed as a king by Harsa (*Harsacarita*, Parab, p 91: अत्र देवेनाभिषिक्तः कुमारः) but possibly he did not get back his paternal kingdom in Malwa This Kumāra of the *Harṣacarita* can not be identified with Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa as the latter was already a crowned king when he came into contact with Harsa Ādityasena, son of Kumāra Gupta's brother Mādhava Gupta, ruled in 672-73 and was "the lord of Magadha" according to a Nepal inscription (*Ind Ant*, IX, p 181) The inscriptions of Ādityasena and his successors are found in the Magadha region Cf. *Corp Ins Ind*, III, pp 200ff, 208ff, 211ff, 213ff.

3 Beal, *op cit*, pp 159-73

yāna leanings then wrote to Śīlabhadra, head of the Nālandā University, requesting him to send to Orissa four learned Mahāyāna monks. Hiuen Tsang who was then living at Nālandā wrote another book in order to refute the arguments contained in the work of the Orissan monks This book was presented to Harṣa who was however not pressing for his previous request. After returning from the Koṅgoda expedition, Harṣa heard that Hiuen Tsang was residing with Kumāra or Bhāskaravarman at the court of Kāmarūpa. He bade Bhāskaravarman through a messenger to send Hiuen Tsang to him at once. Bhāskaravarman replied, "He can take my head, but he cannot take the Master of Law yet." Harṣa was greatly enraged and exclaimed, "Kumārarāja despises me. How comes he to use such coarse language in the matter of a single priest?" Then he sent another messenger with the words, "Send the head, that I may have it immediately by my messenger who is to bring it to me." Bhāskaravarman, deeply alarmed, immediately ordered his army of 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ship to be equipped. Then taking Hiuen Tsang with him he passed up the Ganges in order to reach the place where Harṣa was residing. When they arrived at the country of Kanjaṅgala (Rajmahal), Bhāskaravarman placed Hiuen Tsang in a pavilion-of-travel recently constructed on the north bank of the Ganges and himself with his ministers went to meet Harṣa on the same bank of the river. When told that Hiuen Tsang was at a pavilion-of-travel, Harṣa expressed his desire to see him there. That evening Bhāskaravarman was waiting for Harṣa About the first watch of night, it was reported to him that there were several thousand lighted torches on the river and that the sound of beating of drums was heard. He said, "This is Śīlādityarāja approaching." He immediately ordered his men to take torches in hand and himself with his ministers went forth a long way to meet Harṣa. "As Śīlādityarāja marched, he was always accompanied by several hundred persons with golden drums who beat one stroke for every step taken; they called these 'the music-pace-drums' Śīlāditya alone used the method—other kings were not permitted to adopt it."[4]

From the above accounts two things are perfectly clear Harṣa apparently passed from Orissa to Kajaṅgala through the Gauḍa country (Murshidabad region). Gauḍa therefore had been humbled before 643 A.D. The fact that the large naval and elephant forces of Bhāskaravarman easily

4 *Loc. cit.*, p. 173.

traversed Bengal without reference to any other king's territory shows that the whole of Bengal lay prostrate at the feet of Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman and that the great Śaśāṅka (*c* 600-625), emperor of Gauḍa, was no more. If the *Ārya-mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*[5] reference to Harsa's victory over Śaśāṅka at the battle of Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān in Bogra Dist.) be authentic, Śaśāṅka may be supposed to have been once the suzerain of North Bengal. There is thus reason to believe that the rulers of Gauḍa,[6] Vaṅga and Puṇḍravardhana were about the year 643 subordinate to the confederacy of Kanauj and Kāmarūpa. But the above account also proves beyond doubt that whatever may have been the respective position of the two allies in the earlier years, about A.D. 643 at least, the position of Bhāskaravarman was no better than that of a subordinate friend of Harṣa. Bhāskaravarman's personal attendance to Harsa's court and the facts that he moved for a considerable period of time in Harṣa's company and that he was apparently not allowed to use the "music-pace-drum" go to prove the point

In this connection it may be pointed out that Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena III, king of Valabhī, was another subordinate ally of Harṣa, but his position at Harṣa's court appears to have been inferior to that of the king of Kāmarūpa When at the assembly at Kanauj, Harsa assumed the

5 Ed Sankrityayana, p 52 (verses 722-25)

6 There are traces of the continuity of Gauda history during the period between the death of Śaśānka (*c* 625 A D) and the conquest of Gauḍa by Dharmapāla According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Śaśānka was succeeded after a short period of confusion by his son Mānava who had a short reign Another king of Gauda is Jayanāga who issued the Bappaghosavāta grant possibly in the third year of his reign The *AMMK*, however, appears to place him earlier than Śasānka, In the first quarter of the eighth century Gauda became very powerful under a king who was also the lord of Magadha Magadha was apparently conquered by the Gauda king from the "Later Guptas" This Gauda king was the contemporary of Yaśovarman of Kanauj He cannot be identified with Jīvitagupta II who was not a Gauda The Gauda contemporaries of the Kashmir kings Lalitāditya and Vinayāditya may have been successors of this ruler According to Jain traditions, Vākpati, author of the *Gaudavaho*, originally flourished at the Gauḍa court (Tripathi, *Kanauj*, p 210) They also refer to a Gauḍa king named Dharma who fought with Āma, the alleged son and successor of Yaśovarman (*ibid*., p 211). A Gauda king named Bhata apparently connected with this line of kings is mentioned in the Chatsu inscription of Guhila Bālāditya Bhata appears to have been a contemporary of Dharmapāla, son of Gopāla who secured a kingdom in East Bengal about the middle of the eighth century, but Dharmapāla soon extended his political influence as far as Kanauj in the west.

rôle of Śakra and his friend Bhāskaravarman that of Brahman, Harṣa's son-in-law Dhruvabhaṭa was not called to assume any rôle of importance. His personal attendance at the court of Harṣa also speaks of his subsidiary position. He was defeated by Harṣa, was driven out of his country and was compelled to take shelter at the court of Gurjara Dadda II of Lāṭa.[7] Later he accepted the terms of peace offered by the Kanauj king along with the hand of the latter's daughter. Harsa did nothing unusual in reinstating him as king of Valabhī, because the Maitraka friendship was of considerable value to the king of Kanauj who was afraid of a northward move on the part of Pulakeśin II of the Deccan. The suggestion that Dadda, Dhruvabhata and Pulakeśin formed a confederacy and jointly defeated Harṣa appears to be unwarranted Had Dadda any share in the glory of defeating Harsa, it is most unlikely that he would remain satisfied with the simple claim of having given shelter to the Maitraka king defeated by the North Indian emperor Indian princes are never known to have erred on the side of moderation.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

Haihaya Coins of Mahākosala

Some scholars do not favour the suggestion that Ratnarāja (Ratneśa), his son Pṛthvīdeva I and his grandson Jājalladeva I were rulers of Mahākosala, because there is no clear reference to their supremacy over that province in their own records. They are simply described as *Tummāṇādhipati*, lords of Tummāna (*Ind Ant*, XXII, p. 82). The coins of these rulers are therefore usually described as those of the Haihayas of Tummāṇa and Ratnapura and not as those of the Haihayas of Mahākosala. Some scholars, again, think that Ratnarāja (Ratneśa) and Pṛthvīdeva I, who were merely local chiefs, did not issue any coins at all and that Jājalladeva I, who secured for himself an independent status, was the first in the family to issue coins.

We have no document of the reign of Ratnarāja (Ratneśa), but the Amoda plates of the Cedi year 831 = A.D. 1079 describe Prthvīdeva I as

7 परमेश्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतित्राणोपजातभ्रमदभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदद्दः, *Ind Ant*, XIII, pp 77-79

sakala-kosal-ādhipati, lord of the entire Kosala (cf. ततः पृथ्वीदेवः ... अनेन ... सकलकोसलाधिपतिना परममाहेश्वरेण कलचुरिवंशोद्भवेनेत्यादिसमस्तराजावलीविराजमान महामण्डलेश्वरेण etc., *E.I.*, XIX, p. 75ff.). It is thus clear that Pṛthvīdeva I had supremacy over the entire Kosala kingdom, although he was only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in status. It seems that Kaliṅgarāja, who originally conquered South Kosala, founded a new principality with its capital at Tummāṇa Tummāṇa was a *maṇḍala*, district, to the extreme north of the Dakṣiṇakosala country. But it must be remembered that later records describe Tummāṇa as "the capital formerly established by an ancestor (*pūrvaja*) of Kaliṅgarāja " The hold of this *pūrvaja* of Kalingarāja on Tummāna appears to have been short-lived, as Kalingarāja is said to have regained South Kosala with the prowess of his two arms (cf. दक्षिणकोशलो जनपदो बाहुद्वयेनार्जितः, *E.I*, I, p. 45ff.). Kamalarāja, son of Kalingarāja, is called *Tummānādhipati* in one record. This prince vanquished the ruler of Utkala and added to the prosperity of Gāṅgeyadeva, the lord of the Cedi country Kamalarāja's son Ratnarāja (Ratneśa) established himself firmly and advanced further south He removed the capital from Tummāna to Ratnapura, named after himself and lying about 45 miles to the south of Tummāna Ratnarāja then appears to have become an independent ruler of the northern part of South Kosala including the *mandalas* of Tummāṇa, Talahāri, Komo, Yayapara and Anarghavalli. There is no doubt that he was a powerful prince, but his son Pṛthvīdeva I was more powerful, as he apparently consolidated the position. It is therefore very probable that Pṛthvīdeva I was the first issuer of coins in the family The Hanumān type coins were probably his earliest issues His Hanumān type copper coins are thick and circular in shape with the legend *Śrīmat-Pṛthvīdevah* in two lines Their weight is 7 *māsas* when in good state of preservation

Jājalladeva I, son of Pṛthvīdeva I, at first imitated the Hanumān type issues of his father The legend on his coins is *Śrīmajjājalladevaḥ* in two lines. This king defeated Bhujabala lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonepur on the Mahānadī in Sambalpur Dist) and was honoured by the princes of Kānyakubja and Jejābhukti as a great warrior, for he had fought against Andhra Khimidi, Vairāgarh (Chanda Dist), Laujika, Nandavali, Kukkut, Bhānārā, etc Jājalladeva I probably issued, after these successes, coins of a new archer type a couple of which are preserved in my cabinet.

The son and successor of Jājalladeva was Ratnadeva II who is described as *sakala-kosalamaṇḍanaśrī* and as vanquisher of Coḍaganga lord of

Kaliṅganagara. He issued the coins of the rampant lion (facing mostly to right) type Three sizes of both silver and copper coins were issued by this king—big, medium and small. His *dīnāra* of small size may be an imitation of the gold coins of Codagaṅga whose hoards of coins siezed by him were made to rain over Sonepur as gold drops.

Pṛthvīdeva II, Jājalladeva II and Ratnadeva III imitated the lion device of Ratnadeva II, but these later issues have less pure gold and thinner plates of copper for the gold and copper coins.

It appears that the Haihaya princes issued silver coins very rarely I have found only three silver coins of Pṛthvīdeva who is presumably Pṛthvīdeva II One of the three coins is lost, the other two weigh about 3 *raktikās* or 5½ grains The device is indistinct, but may have been a lion.

The latest coins of the family belong to Pratāpamalladeva, son and successor of Ratnadeva III The device is a lion and a sword or dagger No gold or silver coins of this prince are known The above are copper issues of a circular shape I have found only two hexagonal coins with the legend *Śrīmatpratāpamalladevah* in three lines in Nāgarī characters of the 12th century A D Since I published a note on these coins in *IHQ*, III, p. 175, two copper-plate grants of Pratāpamalladeva dated in the Cedi years 905 and 967 have been discovered. It is interesting to note that the seals attached to these grants bear the representation of a dagger or drawn sword with the inscription *rāja-śrīmatpratāpamalladevah*

Some scholars refer to the country of these Haihayas as Eastern Cedi and not as Mahākosala The name Eastern Cedi is never used as the name of their territory by the Haihaya princes of Tummāna and Ratnapura Their separate coinage and devices possibly suggest that they were not under the Cedi kings of Tripurī. As to the origin of the Hanumān type it may be pointed out that the Haihayas were Śaivas and that Keśarī, father of Hanumān, is one of the *ganas* or attendants of Śiva Hanumān may also have been quite a popular deity to be taken as a device.

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

REVIEWS

ŚRI PĀÑCARĀTRARAKṢĀ of Śrī Vedānta Deśika, critically edited with notes and variant readings by Vaidyaratna Paṇḍit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar and Vedāntaśiromaṇi Paṇḍit T. Venugopalacharya With an introduction in English by G Srinivasa Murti, Honorary Director, Adyar Library The Adyar Library Series—No 36 Adyar, Madras.

Digests based on old and original Āgama or Tantra works do not seem to have received at the hands of modern scholars as much attention as they so richly deserve, owing to the fact that they contain indications about the age, authority and significance of particular texts The hostile attitude with regard to Tantric rites and practices noticed among scholars and average men of culture of the last generation was due in no small degree to a partial acquaintance with the Tantra literature excluding the digests It is therefore gratifying to find that these works are gradually gaining a place of honour among the world of scholars and critical editions of a number of them have been published.

The work under review which deals with the rules of the daily duties of the followers of the Pañcarātra school, discusses the position occupied by them in the Vedic hierarchy and their relation to the rites sanctioned by the Smrtis, is edited with the help of six manuscripts and four printed editions none of which is stated to be satisfactory Variants from these are recorded in the footnotes [1] It is a curious coincidence that a considerably big lacuni occurs in the middle of chapter 3 (p 147 of the present edition) in all the manuscripts and printed editions consulted by the learned editors [2] Thus

1 Variants from other sources may also be pointed out here and there Thus the first line of the first verse at p 169 reads अपवित्रः पवित्रो वा in ritualistic works in Bengal

2 Similar phenomena are noticed in some other cases also Thus a number of verses are recorded to be missing in the manuscripts of the *Kodandamandana*, (a work on *dhanurveda*) belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Portions of two chapters of an 18th century work—the *Sangitasārāmrta* of Tulaja—are not traceable in any of its available manuscripts (Cf p ix of the work as published in the Music Academy Series 5)

what appears to be a very important section treating of the rules of daily worship is lost. The work does not generally refer to the sources of the numerous extracts quoted to substantiate various statements. And the learned editors have spared no pains to identify most of them in the appendix of quotations. In a separate appendix we find the names of authors and works referred to or utilised. There are two introductions—one in Sanskrit by the editors and the other in English by Mr. G. Srinivasa Murti, Honorary Director, Adyar Library,—which besides describing the critical apparatus, give a brief survey of Āgama literature, with special reference to the Pañcarātra literature which forms a part of the former. A sad omission that strikes an inquisitive reader is the absence of any reference to digests. A good number of works of this type is occasionally mentioned in the work under review and short accounts of at least these latter would have been highly welcome A reference is made in the Sanskrit introduction to the shadow of obscurity surrounding the term *Pañcarātra*, as evidenced by the conflicting views regarding its true import. Attention may be drawn here to the use of the word in connection with a Śaiva ritual e.g , the ***Śivarātrivrata***, popular in Eastern India,[3] as well as to Pañcarātra works associated with the names of different deities like Śiva, Devī, Visnu, Ganeśa and Brahman.[4] The English Introduction gives a brief account of the life and works of the author, Vedānta Deśika, who is held in great esteem by the Vaisnavas of the Pañcarātra school It will thus be seen that all attempts have been made to render the work useful in every way It will serve as a good introduction to all students eager to be familiar with the Pañcarātra system Like other publications of the Adyar Library, the present volume also leaves nothing to be desired as regards printing and get-up.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

3 पञ्चरात्रविधानेन मूलमन्त्रेणचैव हि । पूजयेन्मां यथाशक्ति नृत्यगीतादिभिर्नरः ॥
—*Śivarātrivrata-kathā* attributed to the *Śivarahasya*

4 शिवपञ्चरात्र, देवीपञ्चरात्र, विष्णुपञ्चरात्र, गणेशपञ्चरात्र, ब्रह्मपञ्चरात्र
—*Kavindrācārya List* (G.O Series), p 23

भागवतपञ्चरात्रागम —*Ibid.*, p. 27

THE EASTERN FRONTIER OF BRITISH INDIA by A C. Banerjee, M A., P.R.S (Published by A. Mukherjee & Bros.) Pp. 431.

Prof. A. C. Banerjee, M.A., author of the work "Peshwa Madhav Rao I," is responsible for this valuable dissertation on the policy pursued by the British in the North-East of India from 1792-1826. The North-Eastern Frontier is a neglected subject of Indian History, the North-West monopolising our attention. In very recent times the North-East has come into prominence. But this very sober and sedate study is not a product of the war. The book was actually finished a few months before the declaration of war by Japan.

The sources utilised are exhaustive—the records in the Imperial Record Department, old Burmese Historical works, Assamese Burañjis, published Bengali documents, and contemporary and semi-contemporary works in English on Burma and Assam This very detailed and exhaustive study is divided into seven chapters beginning with "Captain Welsh in Assam, 1792-94" and ending with "The Anglo-Burmese treaties of 1826" Excellent maps help the reader to understand the very difficult topography The published books on Burma and Assam are too brief and slipshod to give the advanced student an adequate idea of the growth of British policy in this region. Prof Banerjee's book should therefore be regarded as the work of a pioneer A student of the general history of India, who possibly thinks that the North-East is not his concern, will also find in this book facts that he does not know about the policy of Non-intervention as pursued by Cornwallis and Shore, the anti-Gallican measures of Wellesley in the East, the mistakes and the fumblings of Amherst, and the views of Sir Thomas Munro relating to British military operations in Burma.

N. K. SINHA

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 66· NĀLANDĀ AND ITS EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL, by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, M.A., M.O.L , D Litt. Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of India, Delhi, 1942. Pages 133, with 13 plates.

The volume under review is an important addition to the literature on Indian epigraphy and archæology. The work is divided into two sections,

the first of which is styled *Introduction* and deals with such topics as Nālandā from Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jain, Tibetan and Chinese sources. The second section called *Remains of Nālandā* deals with the structural remains, clay seals, inscriptions and sculptures discovered at the site There is an Index and a large number of illustrations mostly of the seals, inscriptions and sculptures. But a map of the Nālandā (modern Bargāon in the Patna District) or of the excavated area is wanting.

There is no doubt that the book under review will prove useful to all students of the early history of India. A careful perusal of the work however leaves the impression that it has been rather hurriedly written. This is suggested by the fact that a considerably large number of emendations in Dr Sastri's readings of the epigraphs has been offered by an anonymous "editor" and that, in many of these cases, Dr Sastri appears to be clearly in the wrong. There are moreover numerous inaccuracies which have escaped even the notice of the "editor." Cf. *Tārānātha* for *Tāranātha* (p. 6); *paramabhāgavata* inserted in l. 5 of the seal of Budha Gupta (p. 64), *guptasya* for *guptas = tasya* in l 4 of the seal of Vainya Gupta (p. 67), *pura* for *pūru* which is perfectly clear in l. 6 of the seal of Narasimha Gupta, (p. 65, cf Pl. VIII 6, *ru* is also clear in l. 6 of the seal of Kumāra Gupta, Pl. VIII. d), the Mallasārul inscription (*Ep. Ind*, XXIII, 1935-36, p. 155 ff.) not recognised as an epigraph of the time of king Gopacandra of Bengal (p. 29). As to the name of the locality both *Nālanda* and *Nālandā* appear to have been in use, though the learned author rejects the first form. We note that Dr Sastri still reads *dharmasetoḥ* for *varmasetoḥ* in l. 59 of the Nālandā grant of Devapāla (p. 99) and that he keeps silent about his unwarranted theory regarding the identification of Yaśovarman of the Nālandā record with Yaśodharman of the Mandasor epigraphs (pp. 78-79).

Some of Dr. Sastri's statements do not appear to be quite convincing. He says, e.g., "Nālandā must be a very old name, for it was current at the time of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra and of Gautama Buddha, *i.e.*, about the sixth century B.C" (p 3) Passages referring to Nālandā, quoted by the author from Buddhist and Jain literature, are however much later than the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra and their value is rendered very doubtful by Fa-hien's (399-414 A.D.) silence about the locality We fail to understand why a section of the book is styled *References in Brahmanical Literature* (p 14) where the author only brings in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. As a matter of fact, however, the *Arthaśāstra* has absolutely nothing to do

with Nālandā. It is again a matter of regret that the valuable seal of Bhagavaccandra, supposed to be the son of the sister's son of Gopacandra (pp. 29-30), has not been described in details.

Inspite of such defects as the above, the *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material* with its numerous illustrations will no doubt prove valuable to students of Hindu history. The symbol for 10 in l. 1 of the inscription of Mahendrapāla (Pl. XI. d) is interesting as it resembles closely the symbol for the same number occurring in the Midnapore Sāhitya Parishat copper-plate inscriptions of the time of king Śaśāṅka of Gauda, edited with plates in *Pravāsī* (Beng.), Śrāvan, 1350 B.S., p 291 ff.

We congratulate the learned author who even in his age has been able to produce a work of this type

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

AITIHĀSIKA JAINA-KĀVYA-SAṄGRAHA by Messers Agarchand and Bhanwarlal Nahata. Published by Messers Shankardan Shubhairaj Nahata, Armenian Street, Calcutta.

The readers of the *Quarterly* are already familiar with this work through Professor Kalipada Mitra's learned paper "Historical References in Jaina poems," published in vol. XVIII, pp 101-110 But Prof Mitra has utilised only a few out of the 193 *kāvyas* comprised in this excellent collection of 504 pages

The book is useful for historical as well as philological studies. On the historical side, it is a valuable source-book bringing before our eyes, through its kāvyas, the story of the development of *Śvetāmbara* religious bodies, specially the Kharataragaccha during the last one thousand years or so and of the contacts that they established with many important rulers of the period. The very first *kāvya* in the *Saṅgraha* shows the Kharataragaccha teacher Jinadatta Sūri (1169-1211 V.E.) delivering a religious message to Kumārapāla of Tribhuvanagiri (modern Tahangarh) It mentions also Babberā, the town where the Muslim army is known to have encamped in the expedition against Vigraharāja IV of Śākambharī described in the pages of the *Lalitavigraharāja* drama of Somadeva Three poems are devoted to the Jaina *ācārya* Jinaprabha Sūri. As these have been al-

ready noticed and discussed by Prof. Mitra in the article referred to above, it is hardly necessary to say anything more about them. "Aśvapati Kutubudina" who too is said to have honoured this Sūri is obviously Kutbuddin Khilji, one of the successors of Alāuddin. *Kāvya* 13 mentions Kutbuddin as diverted by another ācārya, Jinacandra (1341-1377 V.E.) of the Kharataragaccha. As the information thus supplied belongs to a contemporary composition and can be verified also by a reference to the *Paṭṭāvali* finished in 1393 V.E., we must give Kutbuddin the credit of having been a fairly tolerant monarch, very much different from his father Alāuddin whose counsellers expected that the Hindus would or, at least, should tender gold when asked for silver and open their mouths without hesitation if the tax-collector chose to spit there.[1] A number of *kāvyas* deals with the Jaina ācāryas who influenced Akbar, the great Mughal emperor. Especially interesting, because of the new information that they supply are the *gītas* devoted to Sādhu-kīrti, a Kharataragaccha scholar who defeated Buddhisāgara of the Tapagaccha in a debate held at the court of Akbar in 1625 V.E (1568 A D) This combined with the data contained in the *Akabarasāhi-Śṛṅgāradarpaṇa* would show how early the Jainas had begun to come into contact with Akbar and to influence his religious policy.[2] Very much fuller and useful information can also be gleaned from the *gītas* of Jinacandra Sūri, to whom along with Hīravijaya Sūri belongs the credit of having deeply influenced the religious convictions of Akbar. Students of Mughal religious policy can hardly afford to neglect the material collected by our compilers.

In some cases the details given by the *gītas* can be proved to be wrong. But this only means that they have to be used with some caution by the historians who must first of all somehow find which of them are contemporary or very early and therefore more reliable than the others

On the philological side, the value of the book is even greater, for it is the first collection that I have seen which gives useful samples of Rājasthānī as it was spoken from the 12th to the 19th century A D.

1 Barani—*Tārikh-i-Firūzshāhi*, pp. 290-291

2 For the data in the *Akabarasāhi-Śṛngāradarpana* see my paper to be published shortly in the *ABORI*

The book is, on the whole, a meritorious production, though its utility would have been immensely increased if the authors had arranged these linguistic specimens in a strictly chronological order and tried in the Introduction to shift thoroughly the historical material contained therein. Let us hope that they would supply this deficiency in the second edition of the book and let us have also, if possible, a short essay on the evolution of Rājasthānī from 1000 A.D. to the present day.

DASHARATHA SHARMA

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION WAR BACKGROUND STUDIES: SIAM—LAND OF FREE MEN, by H G Deignan, EGYPT AND THE SUEZ CANAL, by Frank H H. Roberts, Jr. 1943.

These interesting pamphlets aim at providing the general reader with short historical accounts of the countries and peoples occupying a prominent position in the present war. There are good maps and illustrations explaining the text. The pamphlet on Egypt is specially interesting, for within a brief compass it gives us a brilliant survey of the vicissitudes of Egyptian history. It also contains a good bibliography The most refreshing feature of these studies is that they are objective studies, not propaganda

A. C. BANERJEE

CEYLON UNDER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION, 1795-1833, 2 Vols. (Vol. I, Second Edition, 1942 Vol II, First Edition, 1942) By Colvin R. De Silva, B.A., Ph.D. (London), Bar-at-Law The Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., Colombo, Ceylon Price Rs. 6/50 & Rs. 7/50.

This eminently readable and well-documented work gives us a detailed and accurate account of the early period of British rule in Ceylon. The introductory chapter sketches the rivalry of the Portuguese and the Dutch for the possession of this important island There is a brief but interesting account of the Dutch administrative system in Ceylon. The author explains the reasons for the collapse of the Dutch power in the later years of the eighteenth century. Precarious finance, military degeneration, laxity in administration accompanied by unnecessary severity of legislation, nepotism and favouritism, absence of healthy public opinion—these are some of the factors which made the Dutch power an easy prey to the British. The

history of the British occupation of the maritime provinces is narrated in some detail, and the intimate connection between this incident and the then political situation in Europe is well brought out. The author shows the incorrectness of the idea that the British were pledged to return the maritime provinces to the Dutch at a general peace. The occupation of the maritime provinces was necessarily followed by the fall of the Kandyan kingdom, which the author narrates with a very interesting wealth of detail in four chapters covering 138 pages We get a vivid picture of the internal conditions of this land-locked kingdom · the unhealthy rivalry between the Ceylonese and the Tamil settlers, the desire to utilise foreign assistance for the solution of domestic difficulties, political intrigues culminating in the accession of an obscure Ceylon-born Nayakkar (Sri Vikrama Rajasinha) who later on kicked away the ladder and became a despot, the ever-shifting diplomacy of Pilima Talauve and Ahalepola, administrative disorganisation, and the oppression and tyranny of the provincial magnates. "The fall of the Kandyan kingdom in 1815", says the author, "resulted directly from its domestic occurrences". The two wars which culminated in British annexation were primarily due to the ambitious intrigues of Pilima Talauve and Ahalepola But the author does not excuse the British The 'violation' of British territory by the Kandyan troops was, says he, "merely a convenient pretext for an invasion which had previously been decided on for reasons amounting, in sum, to no more than expediency and advantageous circumstances" The extraordinary ease with which the conquest of Kandy was accomplished in a campaign of only forty days was ascribed by Brownrigg to a "total want of any organised plan of defence or any respectable effort of resistance", which was due to the disloyalty of the entire body of chiefs and the disaffection of the common people After the annexation there were unsuccessful rebellions, for the chiefs were uneasy under the new regime, and the *Sangha* viewed the ascendancy of a Christian government as a distinct menace to Buddhism

By far the largest portion of the book deals with the administration and economic condition of Ceylon during the period 1795-1833. It is a very competent survey, and includes separate chapters on administration, Judiciary, Land Tenure, Agriculture, Trade, Public Revenue and Finance. The author possesses intimate local knowledge, and, besides being a trained historian, is a lawyer He is, therefore, exceptionally competent to deal with

these matters. There are two useful maps which considerably assist the non-Ceylonese reader to follow the narrative. The author has relied throughout on unpublished sources, although he has made full use of published works, both contemporary and later. The Index is exhaustive.

A. C. BANERJEE

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol XXIV, parts I-II (1943)

S. M. KATRE —*Influence of Popular Dialects on Sanskrit*

P. K. GODE —*Rāghava Āpā Khāndekar of Puṇyastambha—His Works and Descendants* Rāghava flourished in Mahārāṣṭra in the latter half of the 18th century His literary output includes two Sanskrit poems, one lexicon, two works on anthology, several treatises on astrology and astronomy, and many stotras

H. G NARAHARI.—*Devayāna and Pitṛyāna.* The conception of the 'Doctrine of the Two Ways' found elaborated in the Upanisads is based on the theory of the indestructibility of the soul, which, as it is believed, continues its existence after death to reap the consequences of its deeds in life The souls of the people of superior achievements travel by the 'way of the gods' (devayāna) which leads them to the gods or *Brahman,* helping in their final beatitude The souls of the persons whose merits lie in the common virtues travel by 'the way of the fathers' (pitryāna) whence they have to return to the earth for rebirth after having enjoyed in company with the Fathers the rewards of the good deeds The discussions in the paper show that the seers of the Ṛgveda were not unfamiliar with this Upanisadic conception.

LILADHAR B KENY —*The supposed Identification of Udayana of Kauśāmbi with Udayin of Magadha* The conclusion reached in the paper is that Udayana of Vatsa was different from Udayin of Magadha, the two kings being not even contemporaneous

N J SHENDE —*The Authorship of the Mahābhārata* Traditions recorded in Vedic literature, and accounts found in the *Mahābhārata,* show that the Bhṛgus and Angirasas as the most influential Brāhmanas made united efforts as religious reformers championing the cause of Brāhmanism They have utilised the saga of the Bharatas as the vehicle of instructing the people and raised the fluid text of the Bhārata to the rank of the fifth Veda by adding episodes, incorporating legends, and introducing the Vaiṣnava and Dharma-Nīti elements in the epic.

E. D. KULKARNI.—*Unpāṇinian Forms and Usages in the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.*

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. X, no. 1 (January, 1943)

P. C. BAGCHI.—*Twelve Years of Wandering Life of Buddha.* The contents of a short Chinese treatise entitled *She eul yen king* (Sūtra on the twelve years of the wandering life of Buddha) are discussed in the paper. The Sanskrit rendering of the name of the text is given in Nanjio's Catalogue as *Dvādaśa(varṣa)vibharanasūtra*. Two other Chinese versions of the same work are known to have once existed The translation under discussion was made at Nankin in 392 A.C. by Kālodaka. Dealing with the first twelve years of Buddha's career as a religious teacher, the work gives the legendary accounts of the Master's life in the Asaṃkheya Kalpa and Bhadra Kalpa A history of the Śākya race with a description of the Jambudvīpa and its various regions also forms a part of the text. Certain details of the life of Buddha as given here are not found elsewhere.

R C. MAJUMDAR—*The Rise of Sukhodaya* An inscription found at Sukhodaya in Siam speaks of a struggle between a Kambuja general on the one hand and two Thai chiefs named Phō Khun Bāng Klāng Thao and Phō Khun Phā Muang on the other The Kambuja army is said to have been defeated and driven away from Sukhodaya, whereupon its government was entrusted to Bāng Clāng by the victorious Phā Muang This Phā Muang is stated to have married the daughter of the Kambuja king and obtained from him the title of Śrīndrapatīndrāditya and a sacred sword signifying perhaps the conferment of the heir-apparentship of the Kambuja kingdom on him It is surmised that this Thai chief was none other than Śrīndravarman who ruled over the kingdom of Kambuja in the 13th century his father-in-law king Jayavarman VIII abdicating the throne in his favour His strife with a Kambuja general points to the struggle for succession with his brother-in-law, whom he subdued with the help of another Thai chief, rewarding his services by installing him on the throne of Sukhodaya.

—.—*The date of Accession of Jayavarman II.* The epigraphical records support the view that the Kambuja king Jayavarman II ascended the throne in 802 A.C. and not earlier.

U. N. GHOSHAL.—*Progress of Greater Indian Research during the last Twenty-five Years, 1917-42* This supplement to a substantial paper

on the subject contains additions and corrections and bibliography of works on Greater India, region by region.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. 1943, pts. 1 & 2

ALFRED MASTER.—*The Mysterious Paiśācī.* The views that the Piśācas were a tribe living in N.W. India, speaking a dialect known as Paiśācī from which have descended the Modern Dardic and Kafir groups of languages and the suggestion that the Paiśācī spoken by the people of the Vindhyas was a form of Prakrit influenced by Dravidian, are not supported in this article. The paper collects literary evidence on the nature of the language of Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, which is not available, but is known to have been written in Paiśācī or Bhūtabhāṣā. It is contended here that the Piśācas could not denote a particular race, nor could the term Paiśācī denote a particular type of language connected with their vernacular The Dravidian root that may have formed the word Piśāca points to the meaning 'confusion of mind,' and the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unintelligible.

C. A KINCAID —*Lakṣmībai Rani of Jhansi* Evidence is put forward to show that Lakshmibai who fell fighting was a gallant lady forced by events to join the Nana Sahib against the British. The charge that she ever caused murders or was a mutineer cannot be true.

A K. COOMARASWAMY —*Prānaciti* The sense of the expression *Prāṇaciti* is discussed in the light of statements found in Vedic literature.

Nagpur University Journal, no. 8, (December, 1942)

T. J. KEDAR —*A New Interpretation of a disputed Reference in Garga-saṃhitā* Scholars differ as to the correct interpretation of the expression *ṣaṭdvikapañcadvi* found in the *Gargasaṃhitā* with reference to the interval of time that elapsed between the reign of Yudhiṣṭhira and the beginning of the Śaka era. A reading of the expression in the usual reverse order will yield 2526 years. But *dvika* means double or twice and not two. Hence *ṣaṭdvika* is twice six or 12 and *pañcadvi* is 52. This gives 1252. Yudhiṣṭhira's rule according to this interpretation, ended 1252 years before the Śaka era began in 78 A.C. i.e. in 1174 B.C.

H. C. SETH.—*Khāravela and Gardabhila* The writer of the paper assigns king Khāravela of the Hathigumpha inscription to the early part of the 1st century A.C. and identifies him with Gardabhila of the Jain and

Purāṇic traditions. Vakadepasiri or Śrī Vakradeva of the Mañcapurī inscription, surmised generally as the son of Khāravela, is taken here as Vikramāditya Śakāri, the traditional founder of the Mālava era in 58-57 B.C. It is stated in Jain works that the Śakas once defeated Gardabhila, but were after sometime themselves driven out of Ujjain by Vikramāditya, who afterwards removed the seat of his dynasty from Kaliṅga to Ujjain, and established an era in commemoration of his victory over the Śakas

HIRALAL JAIN —*Some Recent Finds of Apabhraṃśa Literature* Contents of five Apabhraṃśa works in manuscript are described in the paper, The *Pajjuṇṇa-kathā* is a poem dealing with the life of Pradyumna Kumāra, a remarkable figure of the Jain hierarchy. The *Sukumāla-cariu* of Śrīdhara narrates the life of pious Sukumāra. The *Chakkam-movaesa* is a treatise on the sixfold duties of a householder. The *Aṇu-vaya-rayana-paiya* of Lakṣmana treats of the religious vows to be observed by the Jain householders The *Neminābacariu* of Laksmana-deva describes the life of Neminātha, the 22nd Tīrthankara of the Jains.

New Indian Antiquary, vol. VI, n[illegible] (May, 1943)

A. B. M. HABIBULLAH —*Turkish Attacks on Hindusthan in the 12th and 13th centuries*

D D KOSAMBI —*Race and Immunity in India* In answer to an inquiry as to why the Hunzas are so extraordinarily healthy, some accounts are furnished regarding the racial affinity, habits, and diet of the Hunza tribe living in the isolated region near Ladakh.

Ibid., vol. VI, no. 3 (June, 1943)

B. BHAKTI —*Certain Austro-Sanskrit Word-Correspondences* The words like *Kāyastha*, *Vanga*, *śrī* (as suffix after river names), *saumāra* and *Hayagrīva*, which bear striking resemblances in sound and sense to non-Aryan Austric forms, have been examined to suggest their non-Aryan origin.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY —*Ūnātiriktau and Atyāricyata* It has been shown from the occurrences of the dual *ūnātiriktau* in Vedic literature "that Prajāpati as Progenitor and Ruler is to be regarded as a syzygy of conjoint principles, male and female." The meaning of the expression *atyaricyata* has also been discussed in this connection.

Y. R. GUPTE.—*Archæological Remains in Śaniwāra Peth, Poona City.*

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